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I.—BHĀMAHA AND HIS KĀVYĀLANKĀRA

BY BATUK NATH SARMA AND BALDEVA UPADHYAYA.

PRELIMINARY

To every age, in every clime, the importance of an author is weighed on the scales of utility by the coming posterity. Plato and Aristotle command no inconsiderable recognition and deference even now—in the age which has seen cultural progress in almost all directions. This is so, not only for the reason that their works were of the highest order, but also because they were made much use of by the generations coming after them. So it seems that in order to gauge the merits of a particular author we should take ourselves to the consideration of the kind of fame which that author has had the good fortune to call his own.

IMPORTANCE OF BHĀMAHA

Let us now turn to our own author and see whether he can stand the test successfully. Even a desultory student of Sanskrit Poetics can hear testimony to the fact that there are a few famous names of old eminent authors which no later writer on the subject could afford to ignore without sacrificing his own high ambition of celebrity. One of these such names is indeed that of भामह. As far as we know there is no important work on Poetics which does not refer to भामह and his work in some way or other. His work has been very frequently drawn upon for quotations by almost all the important writers of Sanskrit Poetics. There are some who have even borrowed from his works 'matter' and sometimes phraseology. In the body of discussions he has been referred to as an authority of necessary recognition. Even those who could not manage to agree with him on certain points have shown due deference to his views. He has been commanding this respect from Sanskrit poets and poetics, not for a century

or two, but for a very large number of centuries. The name which seems to have been most associated with the science of poetics from its early infancy (with the only exception of भरत) is that of भास्म. He is indeed the oldest आलंकृतिक and in fact one of the most authoritative ones whose work has come down to us.

Not only the old writers of India have had much to do with भास्म and his work, even the modern scholars of vast erudition and wide reputation, have been attracted towards him. There was a time when a regular warfare was going on, with regard to the date and personality of भास्म, among some of the leaders of Oriental Research in India, in which some western scholars of note also took part. Though nothing perfectly quite definite was arrived at, still much was written which shed new light on some obscure corners of historical investigation.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF DISCUSSIONS ON भास्म

It would not be out of place to take here a very brief survey of the various problems raised and discussed with regard to भास्म along with the conclusion reached by way of their solutions. Though, as noted above, भास्म's name was to be heard everywhere among scholars, his work was not at first available anywhere. Böhler, not finding any trace of भास्म's work, inferred, with the inevitable disappointment of a real scholar, that the work had been lost for ever.¹ In 1880, however, a MS of the work came to the notice of Gustav Oppert but we could not know much from his description.² In his memorable list of works on Sanskrit Poetics, Jacob noted the काव्यालंकार of भास्म also,³ but even this mention

1. Böhler's Kshem Report, 1877

2. List of Sanskrit MSS. in private Libraries of Southern India, Vol. I. No. 3731.

3. J. R. A. S. 1897-8.

was not of much use. In the edition of a certain Kanarese work¹ on Poetics, Mr K B Patbalk also took notice of this work but it was only in passing and had nothing directly to do with it. The first person to give publicity to भास्मः's work and to make definite statements about him, was R. Narasimhachar of Bangalore. In the Introduction to his edition of a Kannada work² on Poetics he observed—“ Next to him (Bharata) in point of time, comes Bhāmaha whose priority to Daṇḍin is proved by the latter criticising his views in the first chapter of Kavyādarśa. He is one of the greatest authorities on Poetics his view being quoted by almost all the subsequent writers of note on the subject ” Prof Rangacharya M.A. of the Madras Presidency College has had the good fortune to come upon the manuscript of the valuable and long sought after work. The work bears no date but the author probably belongs to the early part of the 6th century.³ But as this was written in the Introduction of a Kannada work, it could not naturally come to the notice of most of the Sanskrit scholars.

It was only when Mr M T Narsimhiengar wrote an article on भास्मः that the attention of Sanskrit scholars was drawn towards the great rhetorician. Mr Narsimhiengar raised almost all those issues which engaged the attention of Indologists for a long time later on. He thought that भास्मः was a Buddhist and flourished after ददृष्टि. Dr Barnett, in that very year wrote a note, supporting Mr Narsimhiengar that भास्मः belonged to the first half of the 5th century.⁴ Mr P V Kane tried to refute

1 श्रिरामानं edt by K B Pathak : 898

2 कालावलाक्षण्य by शासवता, edt by R Narasimhachar, 1903

3 J R A S., 1905 p 535 ff

4 J R A S., 1905 p 841

Mr Narsimhiengar's hypothesis that भास्मह् was a Buddhist, but as regards his date, he agreed with him¹. In 1909 विद्यानाथ's प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूपत्र was published by Mr K P. Trivedi in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. In an 'Appendix' to this work भास्मह's काव्यालङ्कार appeared in print for the first time. Mr Trivedi in his learned Introduction, dealt with many questions in connection with भास्मह. His arguments were mainly directed against the views of Mr Narsimhiengar Dr Jacobi² and Prof Rangacharya³. In 1910 and Mr Anantacharya⁴ in 1911 joined issue and mainly agreed with Mr Trivedi. Mr R Narsimhachar (the first person to give publicity to the discovery of भास्मह's work) added some new arguments to those already advanced in favour of the priority of भास्मह to द्वार्ढी.⁵ In the same year Mr K B Pathak tried in a learned paper to refute many of the arguments put forward against him⁶. But his refutations, as shown by Mr Trivedi the very next year, were as unconvincing as they were learned.⁷ This paper of Mr Trivedi seems to have silenced his opponents, and for a number of years nothing new was added to this important discussion. In 1922 Dr Jacobi with his characteristic insight in all matters connected with Indology, suggested a new line of approach to the determination of भास्मह's date (as did also Mr P V Kane, quite independently of Dr Jacobi). He tried to prove that भास्मह had borrowed much from धर्मकोति and that consequently he must be

¹ J R A S 1908 p 543

² Z D M G , 1910

³ Introduction to शास्त्रादर्श, 1910

⁴ Brahmaivid n. 1911

⁵ Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 90 ff

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1912 p. 232 ff

⁷ Ind. Ant., 1913

placed after him¹. To many this view appeared to be the last word in the discussion on the date of भास्मह् Dr De² and others³ seem to have followed to the foot steps of Jacobi.

The last few years have seen a marked progress towards the study of Sanskrit Poetics and a few very valuable works have appeared on the subject. Mr P V Kane deserves all praise for his intensive study and extensive researches⁴. Dr S K De also is entitled to an especial mention. He has rendered a valuable service to the cause of the study of the History of Sanskrit Poetics by his useful work⁵. Dr Nobel's recently published book⁶ and Mr B N Bhattacharya's paper⁷ are also not to be lost sight of.

In spite of so much writing no attempt has so far been made to see if it is possible to throw any new light on the subject nor even to sum up in one place all that has been written before. भास्मह्'s work itself has till now been lying in a neglected condition in an obscure corner of प्रतापकृद्धयशोभुरण् ।

An attempt is, therefore, being made here to present within the limits of a brief paper every information hitherto available regarding भास्मह् and his work and in course of this presentation, to examine critically the current theories and to see if any of them is compatible with the date

¹ Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp 211-12

² History of Sanskrit Poetics Vol 1, p 48

³ Nobel — Foundations of Indian Poetry, p 17

⁴ Introduction to his edition of साहित्यदर्शन, Bombay, 1923

⁵ History of Sanskrit Poetics, 2 Vols 1923

⁶ Foundations of Indian Poetry, Calcutta 1925

⁷ Calcutta Journal of Letters, Vol 1\

recently brought to light. It is to be earnestly hoped that this humble attempt on our part will again remind the veteran scholars of their old friend भास्मह and will probably help to create for them a new interest in him.

भास्मह—WHO AND WHAT HE WAS

We know very little with regard to भास्मह except what we find revealed in his काव्यालङ्कार. Tradition says that he was a Kashmirian, and this is believed in by Bühler¹ and others². There is no reason to disbelieve it even though we have no reasonable evidence—external or internal—to prove it beyond doubt. From the last sloka³ of his काव्यालङ्कार, we learn that his name was भास्मह and that he was the son of रक्षिलगोमिन्. The word रक्षिल, which bears phonetic resemblance to राहुल, पोसल, सोमिल and similar other Buddhist names, is alleged to suggest Buddhistic associations, and this suggestion would seem to gain strength from a consideration of the term गोमिन् which is reminiscent of the name of one of Buddha's disciples⁴. Mr Pathak has shown that the word गोमिन् used to carry with it an idea of reverence⁵. He refers to a sutra of the चान्द्रव्याकरण⁶ where the word is expressly stated to convey such a sense. Moreover, the word सार्वसंचक्ष which occurs in the opening sloka⁷ of भास्मह's work,

1. Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. 64.

2. Narsimhachar in his Introduction to नागरमा॒र्णा॑ काव्यालङ्कानम् Ind Ant., 1912.

Krishnamacharya History of Classical Sanskrit Literature

3. अपर्गेव य मतानि सन्तु गतामासमग्न्य रन्धिया च काव्यलङ्कम् ।
उत्तरावगमाय भास्महेन परिते रक्षिलगोमिनस्तु नेदम् ॥ काव्या० VI, 64.

4. J. R. A. S., 1905.

5. Ind Ant., 1912.

6. गोमिन् पूर्णे, 4. II, 144.

7. ग्रग्नम्य माये मर्त्ये मंगावाषायकमैभिः ।

काव्यालङ्कार इत्येष पथामुद्दि यथास्यने ॥ काव्या० I, I.

cannot but point, so it is said, to the Buddha himself. The word सार्व in its derivative meaning stands quite in correspondence with the doctrine of universal love taught by Buddha हेमचन्द्र¹ gives सार्व as one of the names of जिन जिनदेवमुनीवर² does exactly the same thing, except that he adds to the list of the synonyms the name सर्वीय. In view of the well known fact that several Buddhist names were adopted by the Jains, one might feel justified in inferring from these Jain references that सार्व was originally an epithet of the Buddha. The use of the word सर्वज्ञ for Buddha³ is, of course, well known.

Now taking these points into consideration, we may at once confess that the arguments, stated above for proving भासह to be a Buddhist, do not by themselves stand on a very firm ground. As says Mr. Kāne, there is not much in a name.⁴ When the Hindus and the Buddhists had been living in the same country for centuries and centuries together, there is no wonder if one borrowed the name of the other. When this fact is found to be possible even in the case of such heterogeneous peoples as the Hindus and the Mahomedans, it is even more possible in the case of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Moreover, we are to remember that Buddha himself had come to be recognised as an अद्यतार of विष्णु, certainly before the 11th century. With Trivedi, we may add that the word गोमिन् is not exclusively used for the Buddhists. It is explained by the नैघण्याङ्क as a contraction of गोस्त्रगमिन्. It is a caste designation added after the names of the Brahmagas.

1 अभिधान चिन्मामणि I, 1, 25

2 अभिधान चिन्मातिगम्य

3 सर्व एततो पुर —अमरकृष्ण

4. Introduction to गाहित्यशस्त्र, p XVIII.

throughout Kashmir and Northern India and corresponds to the आचार्य of the South¹

An author's religion may perhaps be judged from the contents of his book, but not from his name. In the whole of काव्यालङ्कार there is nothing peculiarly Buddhistic, nor is there any reference to the incidents of Buddha's life or to any purely Buddhistic legends. The first verse no doubt, salutes सार्व सर्वज्ञ but the appellation सार्व simply means सर्वस्मे हित² and is not given by any lexicographer as meaning Buddha exclusively. The word सर्वज्ञ is found in lexicons standing for Buddha as well as for Siva³. कुमारिल in his श्रोकवातिक devotes a long section to the refutation of "सर्वज्ञ", where he means by the term "Omniscient God and not "Buddha". It is a significant fact that अमरसिंह, who was himself a Buddhist, does nowhere give the word सार्व for Buddha in his अमरकोश।

The अपेह्याद of the Buddhists, which represents their theory of verbal connotation, is criticised by भास्मृ in a language which cannot be considered possible for a Buddhist⁴ writer

1 See Trivedi's Introduction to प्रतापद्योगोभूषण
p 122-131

2 दितप्रसरणे ए च सर्वशक्तात् प्रदुर्बले ।
सतश्छमिष्टा च यथा गार्ह सर्वीय इत्यपि ॥

काव्या—VI, 53

Cf पाणिनि 'सर्वपुरपान्या जडन्ते' V 1 10 also

३ शतानुरेताः सर्वं नो धूर्णिनोलग्नादित अमरेनाम

४ अन्यापोदेन दाद्राऽप्यमोदेत्यन्ये प्रद्यन्ते ।

शन्यापोदाद्य नामान्यप्रसरार्थं वाहृति किं ॥

यदि गौतित्यप दद्र इगापोऽन्यविराहन्ते ।

जनोऽगति गोपुदेमूर्यामपत्ता प्यनि ॥

काव्या—VI, 16-17.

He speaks of Vedic rites and ceremonies in very high terms. The kings who drank Soma are highly spoken of¹. Most of his examples refer to Brahmanical gods² and heroes. The famous Paurāṇic legend of the burning of काम by शिव has been referred to by भास्कर in very clear terms³. He very frequently alludes to the characters and incidents of रामायण⁴. The meeting of राम with परशुराम⁵, his exile to the forest of दण्डक in obedience to the orders of his father⁶, his piercing with a single arrow the seven ताळ trees⁷, the promise of हनुमान् to search out the whereabouts of सीता⁸—these are some of the famous incidents of रामायण mentioned by भास्कर in his काव्यालङ्कार.

1. भूसृतां पोतसोमावां न्याये वर्त्तनि विष्टवाम् ।
अलङ्करिष्णना धूर्णं गुरौ सति जिगीपुणा ॥ काव्या०-IV.48.
2. शुगादौ भगवान् ब्रह्म विनिर्मितुर्त्वं प्रजाः । काव्या०-II 55 b.
समयगगनायामानदण्डे रथाह्लिनः ।
पांडा जपति सिद्धीमुतेन्दुनवदर्पणः ॥ काव्या०-III. 36.
विद्यानी रितिन्दू रथामाभ्रहिमपच्छवी ।
रथाङ्गुले विश्राणी पातां वः शम्भुराह्लिनी ॥ काव्या०-IV.21.
पान्ते इन्दुरिरात्मे आदधाने उद्गुनी ।
पातां वः शम्भुराह्लिनी ॥ ॥ काव्या०-IV.27.
3. स पृक्षबीणि जयति जगन्ति कुमुमादृधः ।
हरतापि तनुं यस्य शम्भुना न हर्ति यहम् । काव्या०-III. 25.
4. अत्याजयधया रामः सर्वश्वरमधयाम् ।
सामदन्त्य युधा जित्वा सा ज्ञेया केषवाधिनो ॥ काव्या०-V.44.
5. उदात्तशक्तिमान् रामो गुल्मास्यानुरोधकः ।
यिहायोपनतं राज्यं यथा बनसुपागमद् ॥ काव्या०-III. 11.
6. रामः सहाभिन् तालान् । काव्या०-I. 32.
7. उपलङ्घ्ये स्वर्वं सीतामिति भर्तृनिदेशः ।
इनूमता प्रतिशाय सा शातेन्यर्थं यथा ॥ काव्या०-IV. 37.

The references to the characters and incidents of महाभारत are far more numerous than those of रामायण. Almost all the important characters of महाभारत are found mentioned¹. The promise of पुरु to suffer the miseries of old age in lieu of his father², and that of भीष्म for the life of a perfect celibate³, have been alluded to by भागवत्, while illustrating different types of प्रतिष्ठा. Similarly, the gambling duel of युधिष्ठिर and शकुनि,⁴ the terrible determination and performance of the drinking of दुःशासन's blood⁵, and many other incidents⁶ are also referred to. In a truly beautiful sloka, भागवत् describes the feeling of excessive joy expressed by विदुर on शृणु's arrival at his house⁷. In another sloka, the name of प्रद्युम्न, the son of शृणु, is found coupled with that of पेल पुरुरवा, the progenitor of the lunar dynasty of Kṣatriyas⁸.

1. See भागवत् काव्यालङ्कार, III. 7, V. 31, V. 41.

2. जातये पविभर्ति प्रतिशाय पितुर्यंया
सप्तैव पुरुणभारि सा स्याद्भर्तिवन्धिनी ॥ V. 36.

3. अवारभ्य निपत्त्यात्मि सुनिवृत्य वचनादिति
पितुः प्रियाय यां भौम्याक्ते भा फामयापिनी ॥ V. 36.

4. आहृतो न निपत्तेय शूतायेति युधिष्ठिरः
शृण्वा मन्थां दाहुनिना द्विनेत्पर्यथापिनी ॥ V. 42.

5. भ्रातुभ्रातृव्यगुन्याय पास्याम्याप्याशृणाद्ये
प्रतिशाय यथा भौमन्तेष्ठारावतो रपा ॥ V. 39.

6. See काव्यालङ्कार, II. 41, V. 41.

7. "... शृणुगते शृणुमगारीद्विरुद्धे यथा ॥
शत्रु या मम गोपिन्द जाता स्यग्नि शृणुगते
कारेन्द्रया भौमां प्रीतिस्यांवागमनाम् पुनः ॥ III. 5.

8. भ्रातुभ्रातृ द्विनेत्पर्यथे स्यमेवेतः पुस्त्राः
स्यमेव योर प्राप्तुप्रस्त्रयमेव नर्वाहनः ॥ V. 59.

Besides these references to the रामायण and the महाभारत, there are obvious allusions to the stories of उद्यन, the king of the Vatsas, and of his son, नरवाहनदत्त, as described in the वृहत्कथा of गुणाद्य¹ चालुक्य, the celebrated prime minister to चन्द्रगुप्तमैर्य, has been mentioned as going at night to the pleasure house of king नन्द²

Beariog in mind all these facts, we really wonder how a person professing a particular religion, should, wheo writing an important work, have totally forgotten his own religion and betaken himself always to another for illustrations. There is no dearth of legendary stories amoog the Buddhists. Had he so wished, he could have easily drawn upon them. This fact becomes quite clear on looking into the works of नमिसाधु and others, where it is found that all illustrations are takeo from their own religious legeods. Not only this. At times, in refuting अपेहनाद for instance, he becomes a bit aggressive to the pet ideas of the Buddhists. If we remember what the influence of the Buddhists was before the adveot of शीशुद्वाराचार्य, what homage they commanded even from royal personages, a Buddhist's partiality towards the Brahmanical religion becomes still more inexplicable. We may admit that these points by themselves do not form any firm ground for the h hi-f that our author was a Hindu, but we have also to admit that the arguments advanced for making him a Buddhist are even more flimsy and consequently less tenable. It is still an open question and will continue to be, until some evidence of definite and undisputed character is forthcoming. In the mean time we may assure ourselves on the strength of the data within our knowledge that there is more probability in भास्मास being considered a Hindu than a Buddhist.

1. काम्यालस्त्रार, IV 39 etc

2. Ibid III 13

THE DATE OF भास्मह

The most important problem in connection with भास्मह is his date. It has been the cause of a heated controversy among a number of eminent orientalists for a number of years. After such a long and impassionate discussion, one should expect to have a better result, namely, the exact determination of his date. But unfortunately the result has been quite the reverse. Nothing seems to have been achieved which is not even now enshrouded, to some extent, in the mist of doubt. We propose here to state, as clearly as possible, the various arguments which have been put forward from time to time, to settle this vexed question.

भास्मह like most of the Sanskrit writers, does not give any clue to his date in his own work. There is no way of extracting evidence—internal or external—from any known source which may determine his date in exact numbers. What we can do is simply to try to find out the two limits to his date as correctly as the data at our disposal can allow.

Even there we do not seem to be on a very firm ground. We can somehow or other settle the lower limit of his date from quotations and references of later writers. But when we proceed to determine the upper limit difficulties begin to multiply. It is there that the great scholars have been crossing swords with each other. Let us however, begin with the consideration of the lower limit to his date.

By referring to the appendix of our text¹ or to the foot notes in Mr Trivedi's text², it will be found that the earliest writer to quote भास्मह directly is आनन्दपर्याप्तनाचार्य. Then we learn from a number of later आलङ्कारिक^s that उद्धृत had written a commentary upon the काव्यालङ्कार of भास्मह³. On

1. Published in the Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares

2. Appendix VIII अस्त्रालङ्कारानुवाद (B S S LV)

3. "पिंग्लान्तिष्ठिते प भास्महितो भास्मह एष्टतात् ए

comparing the contents of उद्धट's independent work काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रप्रह with भास्मह's काव्यालङ्कार, it will appear that he had not been content with writing a commentary upon the work of भास्मह, but had freely drawn upon it for his own work¹. As will be shown later on, he has not only copied भास्मह's definitions but has verily repeated them verbatim.

यामन's अलङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति gives clear indications of his acquaintance with the work of भास्मह. It will be shown later on in detail how much and how far he was indebted to our author in the composition of his own work. It is quite sufficient to remember at present, that at some places² he seems to paraphrase the verses of भास्मह³ in the form of sutras, at others⁴ he appears to repeat those very

च्याप्यातो यथेष्टासाभिनिरूपिनः”—प्रतिद्वारेन्दुराज in his commentary upon उद्धट's काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रप्रह (Banbhatti's Edn. p. 14)

“भास्मेत् शब्दच्छन्देभिधानर्थः”इत्यभिधानस्य शब्दान्तेऽप्याप्या तु भद्रोज्ञेण व्यापे”—अभिनग्नुसाचार्य in his छन्दन्यालोकण्ठेचन, p. 10 Also see pp. 39, 207

“तस्माद्गृहिणिकाप्रवादेन गुणालङ्कारभेद इति भास्महविवरणे यदृ भद्रोज्ञेऽप्यधात् तन्निरन्तम्”—ऐमचन्द्र in his अलङ्कार चूटामणि p. 17 See also p. 110

“अपि पश्चादानातु लिप्ता चेति साम्य हेतुन् प्रचक्षन्ते इति भास्महोपेवाचा मनातुल्येनापि भावितम् इति चाहटलक्षणे” etc., अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p. 183. (Nirnaya Sagara Edn.)

1. See Dr De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I. p. 45. and Kane's Introduction to माहित्यशर्पण, p. XLII.
2. यामन's काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र, IV. 2 1
3. भास्मह's काव्यालङ्कार, II. 30
4. IV. 2 20-21.

views which are held by भास्मै¹. He has reproduced² one sloka which has been cited by भास्मै in the name of श्रावणदर्शन³. At another place⁴ he inaccurately quotes a part of भास्मै's verse⁵ and comments upon the use of a word in it. Such a similarity of language, such a correspondence of views, cannot be a matter of accident but must be attributed to the assimilation of the work of an author of established reputation.

It is clear from the above references that भास्मै flourished before उद्धट and श्रामन. The date of उद्धट can be fortunately settled with some precision⁶. He is referred to by आनन्दयज्ञेनायार्ये in his श्वन्यालोक,⁷ and spoken of as the समापति of जयापीड by कलदण्ड. जयापीड reigned in Kashmir from 779 to 813 A. C. As this king, on account of his misrule, became unpopular with the Pandits in the latter part of his reign, उद्धट must have lived in his court before 800 A. C. So the period of उद्धट's literary activity, may, with some probability, be assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century. His approximate date may therefore be taken as 800 A. C.

1. II. 50.

2. IV. 2, 10.

3. II. 46.

4. V. 2. 38

5. II. 27.

6. See N. D. Banhatti's Introduction to his Edn. of उद्धट's अलङ्कारसारसंग्रह, (B. S. S. No. LXXIX, 1925, Poona); See also S. K. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 75; P. V. Kane's Introduction to साहित्यदर्शन, p. XLV; Buhler's Kashmir Report, p. 65.

7. "अवन्यलङ्कारात्तरप्रतिभावामपि द्वेषपञ्चपदेश्यो भवतीति दर्शिते भद्रो-
देन"—अवन्यालोक (निर्णयसामग्र Edn.) p. 96.

"अवन्यत्र वाङ्गलेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरङ्गारः सोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमात्र-

The date of वामन,¹ too, may be similarly settled. राजशेषर, who lived about 900 A C², refers to the school of वामन³. This gives us the lower limit of वामन. He must have lived before 900 A C.

वामन quotes verses from the plays of भवमूति⁴. Now भवमूति lived somewhere between 700 and 750 A C⁵. वामन is, therefore, later than 750. According to राजतरङ्गिणी⁶, a certain वामन was a minister of King जयपीड of Kashmir. There is a tradition among the Paodits of Kashmir that the

तथा वाहुल्येन प्रदर्शितस्तप्तभयज्ञिभेदोद्धादिभि ॥—च्छन्यालोक

p 108

1 For details, see Sanskrit Introductions to Bombay and Bangalore Editions of वामन⁷. शास्त्रालङ्कारसूत्रस्ति, Dr Jha's Preliminary note to his translation of वामन's work, Dr S K Des History of Sanskrit Poetics Vol I- p 81ff, P V Kane's Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, pp XLVIII L

2 Mr C D Dalal's Introduction to शास्त्रमीमांसा, Dr Kocow's Introduction to कृष्णमध्यर्थी (H O S)

3 "कवयोऽपि भवन्तीति वामनाया"—शास्त्रमीमांसा of राजशेषर (G O S, No 1 p 14)

"आप्रदपरिपाद्वपि पदम्बैष्यपर्वत्यायस्तस्मात् पदाना परिपृच्छैः मुख्यं पाकं इतिवामनीया"—Ibid p 20

4 इयं गदे लभ्यमीरियममृतर्त्तिनयनश्च etc.—उत्तरामचस्ति cited by वामन under IV 3 6

पिङ्गालीपामित्याच्च etc. मालतीमाघव cited by वामन under V 2 18

5 See R G Bhandarkar's preface to his edn of मालतीमाघ (B S S No XLIV p XIII—XLVII Bombay, 1905, also Smith's paper in J R A S, 1908, p 793)

6 "मनारथं शर्वदसग्नश्च मन्त्रिमामन्यथा ।

शम्भू यज्यपत्तस्त्व्यं वामनादाष्ट भक्तिग्नं ॥ IV 497.

author of काव्यालद्वार सूत्रघृति was identical with this minister. Bühler¹ believes in this tradition and we see no reason to disbelieve it. So, as shown above, उद्धट and धामन are almost synchronous. It is possible that they were rivals of each other. But it is curious that neither of them refers to the other. Howsoever it may be, the date of उद्धट and धामन is approximately about 800 A. C.

शान्तरक्षित quotes three slokas² from भास्कर's काव्यालद्वार³ which are definitely ascribed to him by the commentator कमलशील। Now शान्तरक्षित lived from 705 to 762 A.C.⁴. Thus 700 A. C. may be safely taken to be the lower limit of भास्कर, though, as we shall show later on, his real lower limit is furnished by धामन.

Now we come to determine the upper limit to the date of भास्कर. It is here that we have to encounter difficulties of the highest magnitude. Many suggestions have been made, many theories have been propounded. Let us take them one by one and try to see how much water they can hold.

भास्कर has at one place referred to a न्यासकार. Some scholars were led to think that this point would be of great help in settling a terminus of भास्कर. A keen and heated controversy ensued and has been raging for a long time. The credit of raising this learned question and then fighting single-handed to maintain his hypothesis with deep scholarship and reasonable plausibility, belongs to the great orientalist, Prof. K. B. Pathak. He found in भास्कर's mention of

1. See Buhler's Kashmir Report, p. 65.

2. तत्त्वसद्ग्रह, slokas 912—914 (G.O.S. No. XXX)

3. VI. 17—19.

4. तत्त्वसद्ग्रह p. 291.

5. See Mr. B. Bhattacharya's Foreword (pp. XIII—XVI) to the तत्त्वसद्ग्रह

न्यासकार a clear reference to जिनेन्द्रयुद्धि, the Buddhist author of काशिकाविवरणपञ्चिका, whom he placed, on the evidence of the Chinese traveller, Itsing, in the 7th century. On the basis of this supposition, he tried to prove that भास्महृ must be assigned to the 8th century¹. He found a very strong opponent in Mr K P Trivedi who proved to the hilt that the structure of Prof Pathak's hypothesis was raised upoo the foundation of sands². Mr Trivedi, on the merit of his stronger arguments, was supported by almost all the writers on the subject³, and was perhaps able at last to convince of his reasonableness even the originator of this controversy⁴.

The verses where न्यासकार is alluded to in the काश्यालक्ष्मी of भास्महृ, run thus —

शिष्टप्रयोगमन्त्रेण न्यासकारमतेन या ।
तृच्छा समस्तपष्टीक न कथक्षिदुदाहरेत् ॥
सूजङ्गापकमन्त्रेण वृनहस्ता यथोदितः ।
अयेन च न कुर्यात् वृत्तिं तद्रमणे यथा ॥

The simple meaning of this extract may be thus expressed—A poet should not make use of a compound, one member of which is formed by adding the suffix तृच्छा and the

1 J R A. S Bom; Vol xxii Ind Ant, Vol. xli, 1912

2 Introd to प्रातापद्यपोष्मूर्पग, pp xxxv ff, Ind Ant, xlii, 1913

3 Mr Kane—Introd to साहित्यर्थग, pp xxxv—xxxvi.

Dr S K. De—History of Sanskrit Poetics Vol. I, p 47.

Dr Jacobi—Sb der Preuss Akad xxii (1912) pp 210—211.

Sovani—Pre-Dhvani Schools, Bh. Com Vol. p 393.

4 As far as we know, Prof Pathak has written nothing after 1913 on this subject.

other by the terminations of the genitive case, supporting it by reference to the usage of a learned man or following the view of न्यासकार. One should not make such a use as was done, when the word चूप्रहन्ता was cited by saying that the sutra of Pāṇini becomes शापक in such a case. Neither should he bring about a compound of words ending with अक with words ending in the genitive case, as, for example, तद्गमक. The sum and substance of भास्मह's contention is simply this that Pāṇini's sutra तुजकाभ्यां कर्तेरि (II 2 15) should be strictly followed and no पष्टीतपुरुष compound formed with words ending in the subjective तुच् and अक suffices. Consequently no compound takes place in cases like अपां लग्ना, चुचस्य भर्ता, ओवनस्य पाचक etc. Now the passage in जिनेन्द्रयुद्धि's काशिकाविवरणपञ्चिका (popularly known as न्यास) which discusses the use of such compounds, runs as follows :—

अथ किमधं तुच् सानुवन्धस्योचारणम् ? तुनो निवृत्यर्थम् ।
नैतदस्ति तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना पष्टीप्रतिषेधात् । पवं तर्हि
पत्तदेव शापकभवति तद्योगेऽपि कचित् पष्टी भवतीति । तेन भीष्म
कुरुणां मयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ।

This passage is found in connection with the sutra तुजकाभ्यां कर्तेरि (II 2 15). Here the न्यासकार is discussing the utility of the अनुवन्ध 'च' in तुच्. Pāṇini could have easily said अकाभ्याम् rather than तुजकाभ्याम् ! Why has he inserted च ? The answer to this question as given by जिनेन्द्र is that it serves to exclude तुन्. But there comes in another difficulty तुन् cannot be used with words ending in पष्टी by न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृताम् (II 3. 69). पष्टीसमास is out of question. This objection is met by saying that this very sutra becomes शापक so that the genitive can be used with the words ending in तुच्. The prohibition by लोकाव्ययनिष्ठा

etc. is inconstant. So whenever we meet with a compound of a word ending with a genitive termination and another ending in त्, we should say that the suffix added is not तृच् but तृन्. Now, on comparison of these two passages with each other it will be evident that भामह् insists upon the prohibition of पष्टीसमास with words ending in तृच् and अक्. As seen in another place¹, he had a very high regard for the authority of पाणिनि. In this particular case also, he wants us to follow the rule of पाणिनि quite literally. He catches this opportunity of referring to the view of a न्यासकार who had allowed (as would appear from the words of भामह्) the use of such compounds by saying that this sutra of पाणिनि could very well be taken as a धारक. It would also appear that the न्यासकार had actually cited the example शुद्रदन्ता and तद्रमक. To ordinary eyes the words of भामह् are as clear as anything and they need no torture from outside, unless, of course, they are meant to yield the desired import already conceived.

Prof. Pathak takes great pains to explain this extract in his own favourite way at one place² and elsewhere³ he gives the sum and substance of his contention. We shall just quote a few sentences from the latter place to show the position assumed by the Professor upon this question. "It will be sufficient" he says "for my present purpose to point out that in the verses cited above Bhāmaha condemns all genitive compounds like शुद्रदन्ता and तद्रमक as ungrammatical, and says that such compounds should never be employed by young authors aspiring to eminence. When he contrasts the शिष्टपंचागमात्र with the न्यासशास्त्रम्, he does

¹ धर्मेण जाति मने फि पाणिनाद्य - काण्डाव्याख्या ॥ 63

² J R A S Bomb. Vol. XLIII p. 138

³ Int. Adv. XLII p. 234

not mean to say that this particular compound वृत्रहन्ता is used by the शिष्ट or justified by the Nyāsakāra. Bhāmaha mentions this word वृत्रहन्ता as an illustration of the class of genitive compounds justified by the Nyāsakāra. This is amply proved by the expression इत्येवमादि in the sentence भीष्मः कुरुणां भयशोकहन्तेऽयेवमादि and by the ज्ञापक discriminating between तृच् and तृन् which applies to all genitive compounds like वृत्रहन्ता ! ”

Thus Prof Pathak would have us believe that, in spite of the difference existing between the two, भासह and जिनेन्द्रवुद्धि mean the same thing. As shown above भासह and न्यासकार had supported the use of तृच् compound by the help of पाणिनि's ज्ञापकसूत्र। He had perhaps nothing to say about तृन् at that place. But जिनेन्द्रवुद्धि speaks of एन्, so that wherever we meet with such compounds, he would call the termination तृन् and not तृच्।

Let us put the whole thing more clearly. पाणिनि has laid down that compounds of words ending in the genitive terminations with words ending in the subjective तृच् and अक् affixes, should never be formed. But difficulty arose when the use of such compounds was met with in the writings of classical writers. Now the grammarians were bound to support such uses somehow or other. It became especially more binding on them to support such uses for the reason that even in the sutras of पाणिनि such as जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः, such compounds are to be found. The important views on the point can be thus stated —

(i) Some say that, as पाणिनि himself has made use of such compounds in the sutras जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः, तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च, the नियेय implied by the sutra तृजकाच्यां कर्वते, is not absolutely binding in certain cases such compounds may be allowed.

(ii) जिनेन्द्रगुद्धि, the famous author of the काशिकान्यास, would like to say that the termination here is तृन् and not तृच् and that the prohibition of पष्टी in the case of तृन् by the rule न स्लोकाव्यय etc is अनित्य

(iii) कैयट् and others hold that in such cases we should explain the 6th case ending as an instance of शेषे पष्टी. भट्टोजिदीक्षित, who raised this question in his सिद्धान्तकौमुदी¹ and summed up all the views in his प्रौढमनोरमा,² seems to favour the view of कैयट् ;

(iv) There may be some who having too much regard for grammatical purity, would not permit such uses in any way

It goes without saying that भास्मह would be very greatly inclined—as he surely is in his काव्यालङ्कार—to hold the last view. It is known to all who have any knowledge of Sanskrit Poetics that grammatical purity is not identical with rhetorical purity. An expression may be grammatically justified, but it need not, on that account, be consistent with the canons or dicta of good poetry. In poetry expression is as important as the matter it represents. If an expression is doubtful in point of its structural purity, it will not commend itself to a good poet even though the doubt may be the slightest one. This was indeed the position of भास्मह. From the way in which he refers to the view of a certain न्यासकार,

1 कथे तर्ह “ धगना निर्मातुष्टिमुवनविधातुश्च कलह ” इति । शेषपष्टी समाप्त इति कैयट् ।

2 शेष पष्टी इति । केवितु जनिकर्तुं प्रकृतिस्थित्योजनसंदेतुश्चेति-निर्देशादनित्येष्य निरेष्य इत्याहु । न्यासकारस्त्वाह । तृप्तन्तमेतत् । न लेकेति पष्टानिरेष्यक्षयनित्य । ग्रकान्यामिति वक्तव्ये तृच् सानुयन्त्रकन्य प्रहणन् ज्ञापकार्तिति ।

it would appear that even in his days such grammatical speculations were quite brisk, and the point in question has also attracted the attention of scholars. Perhaps the most important view on this point was that which finds its criticism in the काव्यालङ्कार of भास्म, viz., that पाणिनि's sutras were taken as शापक and the निषेध prescribed by the rule तुजकाभ्यां etc. was considered अनित्य.

Let us now compare the view criticised by भास्म with the four views stated above and try to find if it corresponds with any of them. It will be seen at once that it coincides with the first one. It will also appear that the first view is distinctly different from the second one which is held by जिनेन्द्रयुद्धि.

Let us now turn towards the examples. The example found in भास्म's काव्यालङ्कार is घृतहन्ता but in जिनेन्द्र-युद्धि's न्यास it is भीष्मः कुरुणां भयगोकहन्ता. They do not correspond. Prof. Pathak tells us that "Bhāmaha has mentioned this word घृतहन्ता as an illustration of the class of genitive compounds justified by the Nyasakāra." It is indeed inconceivable why भास्म should bring in another set of examples and not use the same which were used by जिनेन्द्रयुद्धि, especially when he was so opposed to his view as to refer to him so very pointedly. It is a common practice among good writers that when they have to discuss or even simply refer to such things, they always cite those very examples which were given by their predecessors. शुरुण्डप¹, for instance, when giving the substance of the passage quoted above, refers to the

1. क्य भीष्मः कुरुणां भयगोकहन्ते तु प्यन्ते । तु प्यन्ते तु । न च लोका-
व्यवक्षिते इ (II. 3 69) पठेति रितेः । यत्तिथ्वदाभ्यमित्यत्र तुषः सामुपाय-
कर्षो गादान् तु तो निषेधं जारवति तु तो योगे क्षिति॑ पड़ोति शरावः ।

example of जिनेन्द्रवृद्धि भट्टोजिदीक्षित¹ undoubtedly hegios this discussion with a quite different sentence but his position was not the same as that of जिनेन्द्रवृद्धि or of शरणदेव. He is either criticising nor summarising the statement of the न्यासकार. He selects the sentence from a very popular ख्लोक² which, the tradition says, was composed by अवभूति while holding a verbal fight with an opponent. This context perhaps becomes a commentary upon the happy selection of an example on the part of the learned author of the सिद्धान्तकौमुदी !

A scholar has to be particularly careful about his language when he is engaged in a discussion with another scholar. The same is the case with जिनेन्द्रवृद्धि who draws his example from the popular work, the महाभारत. But the position of भामद् was totally different. In criticising the न्यासकार he most necessarily quote the same example, and this is what he actually did. The word उदितः, in the sentence सूचिष्ठापकमात्रेण सुश्राहन्ता यथोदितः, clearly proves it. He would have never used the word उदितः if he had selected the example at random.

When Prof Pathak speaks of जिनेन्द्रवृद्धि as the only न्यासकार, he tells us something less than the truth. In spite of his attempt to prove otherwise, there did exist several न्यास³, besides the one attributed to जिनेन्द्रवृद्धि माघधाचार्य, as pointed out correctly by Mr Trivedi,⁴ mentions in his धातुवृत्ति the names of क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास, न्यासेधोत, योधिन्यास, शाकदायनन्यास etc. The attempt made by Prof

1. कर्यं तर्हि घटानां निर्मानुषिष्ठिमुग्नविधातुश्च कलह इति etc

2. See भोज प्रबन्ध (निर्णयमागर)

3. Ind Ant., Vol XLII, 1913, p 261

4. "सप्तै देव गृह्णय इत्यन न्यासपदमभ्यर्थिषु । अत्र हेमेन्द्र न्यासे

Pathak to explain them away by saying that 'the' word न्यास is frequently used in the sense of grammatical treatise or commentary¹ does not seem to improve his position in any way. वाणि in his हृष्टचरित, as first pointed out by Mr. Kane², refers to a न्यास. The expression used there is कृतगुरुपदन्यासः which is explained by the commentator शङ्कुर as कृतोऽभ्यस्तो गुरुपदे दुर्वेधश्चदे न्यासे। वृत्तिषि (यिं) घरण्यं थे.³. None has so far tried to prove that जिनेन्द्रवुद्धि lived before the reign of हृष्टवर्द्धन. Mr. R. Narsimha Char⁴ writes about a न्यास written by पूज्यपाद, who, according to Mr. Rice, lived about 500 A. C.

Even if it were possible (but in fact it is not) to show that the न्यासकार referred to by भामह, may be जिनेन्द्रवुद्धि, it is not easy to prove that भामह came after जिनेन्द्रवुद्धि ! The only ground on which Prof. Pathak placed him about 700 A.C., is a string of confused statements of the Chinese traveller, Itsing, about the grammarians of those times. All

पण्डिः सार्वधातुकेऽप्यविकल्प उक्तः-धातुकृतिः (Mysore Edn.) Vol. I., p. 266.

"अङ्गधितं च इत्यत्र न्यासे . निवाहि हरि जिदण्टीन् प्रस्तुत्य न्यासाद्योतेच भजादीर्णं शामादीर्णां चेत्प्रस्ततमत्यमविशिष्टमित्युपम् ibid Vol. I., Pt II , p. 529

पैथिन्यासेऽपि सातिः एते बर्तते सौत्र इति । जिनेन्द्रवरदत्तौ सातिहेतुमध्यमत्तः इति-ibid Vol. 5. Pt. I, p. 122.

शाकटायनन्यासकृतोऽप्यवमेव पक्षोऽभिमतः—ibid Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 94.

It is to be noted here that in all these quotations, जिनेन्द्रवुद्धि is distinctly referred to.

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 233
2. J. R. A. S., Bomb 1909, p. 94.
3. हृष्टचरित (Führer's Edn.) p. 133.
4. Ind. Ant. XLI, 1912, p. 91.

these statements cannot be accepted as perfectly correct Dr Jacobi¹ has therefore rightly called in question the date assigned by Prof Pathak to जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि Keilhom², while noticing a fragment from जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि's work in Poona wrote My impression certainly was that Jinendrabuddhi has freely copied from Haradatta's Padamanjarī Dr Jacobi¹ has shown, on the authority of भवित्योत्तरपुराण that हरदत्त died in 878 A C This will take जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि to the 10th century at least We have already shown⁴ that भास्मह cannot be later than 700 A C It is impossible for जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि to have copied from the पदमञ्चरी of हरदत्त and still be a predecessor of भास्मह

We may now sum up this part of our discussion The न्यासकार referred to by भास्मह is not जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि as was supposed by Prof Pathak. He was an old writer whose work has now become extinct and who is wholly unknown to us His view as known from भास्मह seems to be referred to by भट्टोजिदिक्षित in his ग्रोडमनोरमा So an attempt to find out the other terminus of भास्मह, with the help of his reference to न्यासकार, cannot go very far and we must look up to something else for it

भास्मह and माघ

While dealing with one of the main contributions of Prof Pathak to the determination of भास्मह's date we may in passing just note another interesting point raised by the learned professor⁵ This refers to an unconvincing attempt

¹ Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften XXIV p 220

² J R A S 1908 p 499

³ Sitzung der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften XXV p 211

⁴ p 16 above

⁵ J R A S Bomb Vol XXIII p 31

made by him to find out some chronological relation between भामह and माघ भामह, at one place,¹ expresses his view about the constitution of काव्य and says शब्दार्थी सदितै काव्यम्—a view which has attracted the attention of almost all later आलंकारिक s of note माघ has in शिष्यपत्रवध II 86 the following beautiful न्योक—

नालभ्यते देविकतां न निषीदति पौष्टे ।
शब्दार्थी सत्कविरिष छयं विद्वानपेक्षते ॥

Now it is argued that माघ must have been acquainted with भामह's काव्यालङ्कार before he expressed himself in such a strain. This point is mentioned here, not for its importance but for its interest. We need not, therefore, go into detail over this question. Those who feel interested may read the refutation of this argument in the paper of Mr Kane². We shall only quote a few lines from Dr. J. Nobel's book³ and leave the rest to the imagination of curious readers. "Māgha is said," writes Dr. J. Nobel, "to refer to the definition of Kāvya as given by Bhāmaha, but if this is considered as an argument I may be allowed to take as an argument of the same force that Kalidāsa in Raghuvansha I 1, by the words *Vigarthena sampriktau* refers to the very same definition of Bhāmaha, and that by this fact Bhāmaha's priority may be taken for granted. By using the simile of Sabdārtha, however, Māgha probably refers to that of Kalidāsa or perhaps to some other view and not the definition of Kāvya in Bhāmaha. This argument however, is of no great value, because the so called definition of Kāvya (as consisting of word and sense united) may go back to some older Alankārikas.

¹ भामहालङ्कार, I 16

² J.R.A.S. Bomb Vol XXIII, p. 91 ff

³ The foundations of Indian Poetry, p. 15—16

भामह and कालिदास

Still more interesting and equally important is the view which seeks to establish the priority of कालिदास to our author. In भामह's काव्यालङ्कार I 42 44 we read—

अयुक्तिमद् यथा दूता जलभृन्मारुतेन्दवः ।
 तथा स्मरहारीतचक्रयाकशुकादृयः ॥
 श्रवाचो व्यक्तयाचश्च दूरदेशविचारणः ।
 कथं दृत्यं प्रपद्येरन्निति युक्त्या न युज्यते ॥
 यदि चेत्करण्ठया यच्छुन्मत्त इव भापते ।
 तथा भवतु भूम्नेदं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

भामह is criticising here those poets who make in their works the cloud, the wind, the moon and similarly some birds to appear as messengers. He calls this an instance of अयुक्तिमद्वेष. It goes wholly against reason, he says, that such creatures should be able to perform the duties of messengers. But he concedes this in the case of those intelligent poets, who, when making use of such devices, show them to be employed by men who are out of their wits.

Now some scholars¹ argue that भामह must have had in mind the मेघदूत of कालिदास where a cloud has been used as a messenger. It is also pointed out that a passage² of 'भामह' seems to borrow an idea and phraseology from two

1. Haricand—L'Art Poétique de L'Inde, p 77 ,

V. V Sovani—Pre-dhawani Schools, Bhandarkar commomoration Volume, p 393 .

S K De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I 48

2 अस्मिन् जहोहि उद्दिदि प्रगताम्यमूर्यामास्तिष्यगाढममुमाननमादेत् ।
विन्द्य महानिव धन समयेऽनिवर्यानन्दवैतेनपनवारिभिरुभात् स्थाम् ॥

शुद्धोक्ति¹ of कालिदास This shows that कालिदास must have flourished before भामह

Others, on the other hand hold quite an opposite view "Bhāmāhācharya, writes Dr T Ganpati Sastri², "it seems to me, must have lived long prior to Kalidasa. For while he mentions such names of poets and poems as Medhavi, Rāma Sarma, Asmakavamśa, Ratoabaraṇa, Achyutottara, all unknown to us, he has never mentioned the name of Kalidāsa of world wide fame or any of his works of supreme excellence. But had Bhamaha ever seen the poems³ of Kalidasa he would have of course mentioned them or made them also as in the case of Pratiṣṭhānītika subject of his criticism. After this the learned Pandit quotes those three verses of भामह⁴ which we have given above and remarks—'From this we cannot conclude that भामह was conversant with the poem Meghadata, for then we could as well infer that he knew also of Suksandesa written by a poet of yesterday. Hence, I think, that by these alibas, our Achārya only teaches us generally that the fashion in some of our Kāvya-s of lovers sending messages through such inanimate objects as the wind, the moon, the clouds and such living inarticulate creatures as the bee, the chakravaka and the parrot is not desirable on occasions when the sender of the message is in a state of sobriety. Bearing in mind this instruction of our

: अपारिपक्व रघुवीरां ग्रामानन्दगमेऽत्यया ।
निर्विशेषामाहरमात्येत्कृद्यायापादं एव ननुभरोर्य ॥
मरिष्यमुद्धान् च मायाप गत्या रज रुद्रं रवरादितानि ।
तस्याकलन् शूर्जित जग्नामि निष्पादित्यद्य यथप्रभाशा इवाप ॥
—पुष्टि XIV 7-8

: Introduction to "रवरादिता" and प्रतिष्ठानीतिका (Tritten from I do)

3 बाल्यानन्दद्वारा, 1 42-44

Āchārya, Kālidāsa, with his keen sense of poetic propriety, observes, in defence of his message through the cloud at the beginning of Meghadota —

भूमजयेति.सलिलमहतां सन्निपातः कुमेघः
सन्देशार्थं कुपदुकरण्ये प्राणिभिः प्रापनीया ।
इत्यासुन्त्यादपरिगणयन् गुह्यकस्तं यथाचे
कामार्त्ति हि प्रकृतिकृपणाहोतनाचेतनेषु॥—पूर्वमेघ ।

Thus it is seen that Bhāmaha lived much prior to Kālidāsa ”

This long quotation from the most important exponent of this side of the view, will make the position quite clear. It may be interesting to know that Dr. Nobel also was formerly a believer in the priority of भामह to कालिदास. Even now, with his belief slightly shaken, (simply because he could not directly prove it) he is more inclined to accept the priority of भामह to कालिदास than that of कालिदास to भामह¹

Taking the arguments from both sides into consideration, we may confess that much can be said on both sides and that nothing is really settled. One cannot imagine that such a criticism can be possible without any work to be criticised and explain on the other hand, why other things connected with कालिदास should not have come under the notice of भामह, if the works of the great poet were known to him.

Whatsoever may be the fact, it is needless to carry this discussion to any further length, because, even if it were decided one way or the other, it will not in any way help us in determining the date of भामह. The date of कालिदास itself is a bone of contention and cannot be made a basis for determination of other dates.

¹ See Nobel's The Foundations of Indian Poetry, pp 14-15

भामह AND भास-

The same remark is to be made with regard to the chronological relation of भामह and भास, though in this case, it has not been suggested by any person that भामह came after the author of the work he is criticising. The difficulty with us here is that we cannot exactly know what work he is criticising. The verses in the काव्यालङ्कार of भामह which refer to the criticism in question read thus—

विजिगीपुमुपन्यस्य घत्सर्शं वृद्धदर्शनम् ।
 तस्यैष छत्रिनः पश्चादन्यधावररान्यताम् ॥
 अन्तर्योधशतार्हीणं सालङ्कायननेतुकम् ।
 तथाविधं गजच्छङ्ग नाड्डासीत् स समूगतम् ॥
 यदि वोपेदितं तस्य सचिवैः स्वार्थसिद्धये ।
 अहो तु मन्दिमा तेषां भक्तिर्वा नास्ति भर्तरि ॥
 शरा दृढ्यतुर्मुक्ता मन्युमन्दिररातिभिः ।
 ममाणि परिहृत्यास्य पतिष्यन्तोति काञ्चुमा ॥
 हृतोऽनेन ममन्नाता मम पुत्रः षिठा मम ।
 भातुलो भागिनेयथा रुग्म संख्यचेतस ॥
 अस्यन्तो विचिधान्याजात्यायुधान्यपराधिनम् ।
 पकाकिनमरण्यानां न हन्युर्वहयः कथम् ॥
 नमोऽस्तु रेख्यो चिद्रक्षेपो येऽभिनायं फवेरिमम् ।
 शाखलोकावपाद्येव नयन्ति नययेदिनः ॥
 सचेतलो वनेमस्य चर्मणा निर्मितस्यच ।
 चिरेऽपि चेद् वालोऽपि कष्ट किन्तु कपं तु तद् ॥ IV.39-46

The stories of उदयन, the king of घटस्त्र, were very popular in ancient India, so much so that many works, even besides those which directly devote themselves to them, refer to them here and there. So when we find such a criticism in the work of भामह, we cannot exactly determine what is the actual object of his criticism. Dr T Ganapati Sāstri suggests that the work criticised must be प्रतिशार्यागन्धरायण. "The subject reviewed by Bhāmaha above, says the eminent

editor, " is seen to its entirety to Pratiṣṭhanāṇikā . Moreover, the Prakrit passage " अणेण मम भादा हृदो, अणेण मम पिदा, अणेण मम सुदोर् " in the first Act of Pratiṣṭhanāṇikā is quoted in the form of verse, " हृतोऽनेन मम भ्राता मम पुत्रं पिता मम " by Bhāmaha, to his enquiry oo Nyāyavīrodha

In spite of this suggestion made by the learned Pandit, we may observe that the case is much doubtful. भामह does not mention the name of भास or his प्रतिष्ठायोगन्धरायण. He may be criticising गुलाल्य's वृहत्कथा itself which was indeed the oldest compendium of such stories. The Prakrit portion common with भामह's श्लोक, might have a similar representative passage there also. Moreover, the theory of the learned Sastrī himself, as observes Mr. Kane, is based on a very weak foundation. If we examine the passage from भामह more closely, it will be found that the story criticised by him is not exactly the same as found in प्रतिष्ठायोगन्धरायण. It corresponds more with the versions found in वृहत्कथा मञ्चरी and एथा सर्वित्स-सामार. They are known to be the epitomes of वृहत्कथा. But even if it was proved that it is भास who has been criticised, it will not help us in any way. For the last 14 years, a sharp controversy has been going on, not only with regard to the date of भास, but also concerning the authenticity of the works published in his name. As there is no certainty about the date of भास there is no use putting it forward as a terminus of भामह.

भामह AND मट्टि ।

It will not be perhaps out of place to devote some space here for discussing the relation of मट्टि and भामह. It is a well known tradition among the Pandits of India that मट्टि, the famous author of the grammatical Kāvya, known as रायराय or simply as मट्टिराय, tried to furnish illustrations

to the काव्यालङ्कार in the four cantos (X—XIII) known as प्रसन्नपाठ एवं exactly as he did in others for the sutras of Pāṇini. This tradition finds further support from the statements of the commentators¹. It would appear from the way they write that भट्ट wrote the 10th canto to illustrate figures of word and sense, 11th, माधुर्यगुण, 12th, भाष्यिक and the 13th Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvya. प्रसादगुण finds its illustration in all the four cantos. If we look at the श्लोकs illustrating अलङ्कारs in canto X, we shall find, from the order and the way they are given, that भट्ट had भामह's काव्यालङ्कार before him. The commentators जयमङ्गल and महिनाथ have freely drawn upon the work of भामह for giving the definitions of these अलङ्कारs in their commentaries.² They could have easily taken the definitions from later and fuller rhetorical works. But then the illustrative श्लोकs would not have so well conformed to those definitions. There is a श्लोक in भामह's काव्यालङ्कार which is found in भट्टिकाब्द्य with very slight alterations. The श्लोक of भामह is—
 काव्यान्यविददीमानि व्यात्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।

उत्तरः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेघसो हताः ॥—II. 20

In भट्टिकाब्द्य we have

1. दशद्वलक्षणमुक्तमपि लक्षणूकाव्यलक्षणात्प्रप्रसन्नकाण्डमुच्यते, काव्यम्याय प्रसन्नत्वात् । प्रथमं चेऽ लक्षणं यत्प्रसन्नता नाम जायिद्वद्दुनावालप्रतीताथ' प्रप्रसन्नत्वात् । . . . तथात्मिन् काण्डे चत्वारः परिच्छेदाः । अलङ्कार माधुर्यप्रदर्शनदोषाः भाषासमानेशब्देति etc—जयमङ्गल in his commentary, in the beginning of canto X.

दशद्वलक्षणप्रधानेऽत्यास्त्विन् काव्ये काव्यलक्षणत्वाद्विधिकारकण्डानन्तरमलङ्कार माधुर्ये भाविक भाषासमाख्य वर्त्तिदेवतुष्टपात्मस्तमारममानोऽस्त्विन् सर्गं तावदलङ्कारपरिच्छेदं वद्धादौ शद्वालङ्कारान् केवलो दर्शयति । —महिनाथ in his commentary on भट्टिकाब्द्य in the beginning of canto X.

2. See परिच्छेद to our edn. of भामह's काव्यालङ्कार. जयमङ्गल has no less than 33 quotations from this work.

व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।
हता हुमेंधसश्चासिन् विद्वत्प्रियतंया मया ॥—XXII.34.

Here it can be imagined quite easily that one of the two must have borrowed from the other. श्रीवत्साङ्कमिथ ascribes the former ऋगोक to भामह. There on this authority it necessarily follows that भट्टि must have imitated भामह in writing his ऋगोक.¹ All these facts, stated above, cannot but point to one conclusion, in that भामह was prior to भट्टि.

Now as regards the date of भट्टि, the only clue which we have is his ऋगोक forming the last verse of his काव्य. It is—

काव्यमिदं विद्वितं मया घलभ्या
श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।
कीर्तिरतो भवतान्नुपस्य तस्य
प्रेमकरः द्वितियो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥—XXII. 35.

The history of Kathiawar tells us that there were four Kings with the name of धरसेन who ruled over घलभी (modern Vala). It is not quite clear which धरसेन is alluded to by भट्टि².

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar³ identifies the author of भट्टिकाव्य with घत्सभट्टि, mentioned in the Mandasor Sun Temple Inscription,⁴ dated 473 A.C. on the ground of similarity between the verses of the inscription and the description of autumn in the भट्टिकाव्य.⁵ But this identification is considered by Prof. Keith as a ‘most unfortunate suggestion’⁶.

1. Trivedi—Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 264.

2. For more information, see Mr Trivedi's Introduction to भट्टिकाव्य (B. S. S. No LVI.);

3. J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 395-397.

4. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18.

5. Caeto II.

6. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 759.

But the two learned professors are at one in saying that भट्टि flourished before भारवि and दूरडी. We may go so far as to say, with Mr. Trivedi¹ that "our poet lived in the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century." But the safest course will be to side with Mr. Kane² and say that "भट्टि must have lived sometime between 500 and 650 A.C."³ Whatever might have been the difference with regard to the date of भट्टि, none was heard to suggest till 1922 that भट्टि was prior to भामह. In this year Dr. Jacobi⁴ struck a new line of argument in determining the date of भामह. He tried to prove with all plausibility that भामह had drawn his material for the 5th chapter of काव्यालङ्कार from the न्यायविन्दु of धर्मकीर्ति. This necessitated the placing of भामह after 650 A. C. Now भट्टि, as shown above, cannot be later than 650. So the learned scholars were compelled to look upon the relation of भट्टि to भामह from quite a different angle of vision. Dr. S. K. De, who, as far as we remember, never disagrees with Dr. Jacobi but always follows in his foot steps, writes⁵— "At one time it was believed, on the indication given by Jayamangala on Bhatti that the alamkara-chapters in that काव्य especially

1. Introduction to his Edn. of भट्टिकाव्य (B. S. S. No. LVI), P. XXII.
2. Introduction to his Edn. of समहितपद्धतिः, P. XVI.
3. For the discussions on the date of भट्टि, see also Dr. Jacobi-Z. D. M. G., XLIV and also Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1922, pp. 216-17; V. V. Sovan,—Bhandarkar commemoration Volume, p. 393; S. K. De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I. p. 50ff.
4. Sitz. d. Preuss Akad. d. Wiss., No XXIV, pp. 211-22.
5. History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I p. 50.

canto X, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhamaha in particular, but the date now assigned to Bhamaha (i.e after धर्मकीर्ति's date 650), will re-adjust his relation to Bhatti in a new light" The two learned doctors have taken great pains in 're-adjusting भास्मह's relation to भट्टि' Re-adjustment has been in the present case nothing less than perfect reversion of the former position There is no use of examining on our part this 're-adjustment' in all its details, for it has not been so much a child of logic as one of necessity The present case appears to us like that of a certain talented lawyer He once began to put forward arguments which might have been advanced by the other side When he was on the point of completing his arguments, he was made aware of his blunder by one of his colleagues He remained unmoved and at once addressed the court 'My Lords, such will be the arguments put forward by the other side Now I begin to refute them We wonder why the premises of the conclusion which upset the whole thing were not more carefully examined to see if there was some other" alternative possible. Such cases of resemblance, corroborated by the record of commentators and confirmed by the voice of tradition, as exist between the काव्यालङ्कार of भास्मह and the रायणव्य of भट्टि, cannot be a matter of mere chance As we shall try to show later on भास्मह cannot be carried below 600 A.C. He may be much earlier So there is no necessity of putting the cart before the horse

दण्डी and भास्मह

Now we come to one of the most important parts of the discussion upon the date of भास्मह दण्डी, the author of काव्यालङ्कार, has been very popular among the literati of mediæval India, perhaps even to some extent more than भास्मह himself, who had the misfortune of having his work not

so easily available. On a close study of the works of these great poeticians, the impression becomes irresistible that they were related to each other, some way or other. There are some passages which are identical in the works of both, not only in sense but even in phraseology¹. There are others, more important still, which appear to involve mutual criticism.² Besides, there are various views—either similar or dissimilar to one another—which clearly point to an intimate relation existing between the काव्यालङ्कार and काव्यादर्श³ !

These impressions, culled from the works of these two writers, led to the discussion of their chronological relation with each other. A sharp controversy ensued for settling the priority of one to the other. Mr. M. T. Narsimheoigar raised this issue for the first time and was inclined to place दराइ before भास्मह⁴. He found his arguments very ably refuted by such eminent scholars as Mr. Trivedi⁵, Dr. Jacobi⁶, Prof. Rangacharya⁷, Dr. Ganpati Sastri⁸ and Prof. Pathak⁹. The last seems, however, to have changed his view later on¹⁰. As the majority of views appears to favour the priority of भास्मह, we need not encumber our humble paper with the statements of all views held either

1. Kane—Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XXV; De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, I. pp. 64-65.
2. De—History of Sanskrit Poetics, I. pp. 65-66.
3. Kane—Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, pp. XXV—XXXV.
4. J. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 535 ff.
5. Introduction to प्रतापलद्यप्यसोभूषण pp. XXIII ff.; Ind. Ant. XLII, ff.; Rhaudarkar Com. Vol., p. 40.
6. Z. D. M. G., LXIV, pp. 134 and 139.
7. Introduction to his edition of काव्यादर्श.
8. Introduction to स्वप्नवासवद्ध, p. XXV.
9. Introduction to कविराजमानि, p. 16
10. J. R. A. S. XXIII p. 19, Ind. Ant. XLII, p. 235 ff.

against or in favour of his priority Mr Kane has very cautiously collected the arguments of either side and those who feel interested may refer to his learned work¹ Mr Kane, after stating and examining all such views with admirable impartiality, has come to the conclusion that in reality no judgement is yet possible on the question one way or the other though from the character of the arguments employed he seems to be somewhat inclined in favour of दण्डी's priority to भामह He sums up his position thus ' It seems probable that भामह and दण्डी follow independent traditions the former having more affinity with the अलक्ष्मा school and the latter with भरत's school Whoever may be earlier, both are very near each other and are to be placed between 500-630 A C² Dr De has however, by forcibly re-stating some cogent arguments, ably demonstrated that the majority view is the only best logical alternative³

We shall by way of concluding this portion of our paper, state one or two points which, to our mind, would conclusively show that भामह cannot be brought down to a period later than दण्डी Recently a book named उद्गनिसुन्दरीकथा has been discovered in the South by the Curator of the Madras Oriental MSS Library⁴ It is evident from the said MS that it was written by दण्डी It is prefaced, as is usually done in कथा, with a number of verses These verses include the praise of यशो and मयूर⁵ along with that

1 Introduction to साहित्यकाण्ड, pp ॥८७—॥८८

2 Ibid p ॥४॥

3 History of Sanskrit Poetics Vol I pp 64—70

4 Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, pp 193—201 Journal of the Mythic Society XIII, pp 671—685

5 भिन्नस्तीति मुमेनापि विष्व वारेन नित्यं ।
व्याहार्यु जही लीला न मयूर ॥

of many others. From this Poetic Introduction, we further learn that दण्डी was a great-grandson of भारवि who has been described here as a cotemporary of kings दुर्विनीत and सिंहविष्णु. These monarchs were great ruling kings about 580 A.C. Thus it appears quite reasonable to infer that दण्डी, being fourth in descent from भारवि, must have belonged to the last quarter of the 7th or the begining of the 8th Century. This statement finds an additional support from the fact that दण्डी has not only praised याणमट् but has narrated the story of कादम्बरी along with other episodes in his कथा and this narration seems to be an accurate reproduction of the tale as is found in the पूर्वार्द्ध of वाल्मीकि's कादम्बरी. It is a well known fact that वाल्मीकि belonged to the court of हर्षवर्धन who reigned from 606 to 648 A.C. A northern poet cannot be expected to have achieved in a decade or two, in those days of hard communication, so much fame as to merit such a high praise from a critic of the South.

It may be further shown on a most reliable authority that भास्मद् must have lived before वाल्मीकि. आनन्दवर्घन in his चत्त्वारिंशति, while asserting that the same idea, though already expressed by one poet, appears new and charming when put in a suggestive garb by another poet, points out a case where वाल्मीकि, drawing upon an idea expressed by भास्मद् in one of his verses of कादम्बलङ्घात, writes a prose

1. तपा दिग्भिनाम्ब्रवाच्यवैत शम्भाग्नुदशतुलनस्त्रियद्वाप्रकार-
सप्राप्तेव नामद् । यपा 'बग्नीवारगापातुना सं देवः' (दर्पणित VI para
15 of Kane's edition) इति शब्दो 'नेता दिग्भिन्ति' च महान्ता गुरुः भिराः ।
पद्मद्विनम्बद्वाप्रभृतो दिग्भै गुरुः (कादम्बलङ्घात III 27.) इत्यादी
सम्बन्धि तत्पर्यशार्पतानुदाशतुग्रस्त्राद्युपाधेया नामद् ।—पद्मसांकेत,
चत्त्वारि IV p.236.

passage in शूर्यचरित It is quite clear from this that आनन्दधर्मन had positive belief which must have been based on traditions prevalent among the Kāshmirian Pandits of his day that भास्मह was an old and popular predecessor of धारण so that the latter could safely and honourably borrow ideas from the former Hence unless this statement of आनन्दधर्मन is shown to militate against the verdict of accepted chronology bearing on the question (as is quite unlikely) the fact of भास्मह's priority can never be challenged

With due deference to those who hold that भास्मह and दण्डी are chronologically very near to and not far removed from each other, we may be permitted to observe here, in passing, that to us it does not appear to be the fact भास्मह most probably belonged to Kāshmir and दण्डी undoubtedly hailed from the South It cannot be imagined that the writers so far removed could vie with each other in those days It cannot be denied that दण्डी, with an evident censoring mood, tries to eclipse the work of भास्मह by his own This case is somewhat like भारत्चि and मात्य who though not far removed in space, were, in time, far away from each other This point can be further borne out by the linguistic evidence The प्राकृत had not, perhaps, been so much in vogue in the time of भास्मह as they were in the time of दण्डी Perhaps सेतुयन्ध which finds such a high and merited eulogy from दण्डी had not yet been written भास्मह makes no linguistic division of धारण as दण्डी does If it could be proved that the प्राकृतमनोरमा, the oldest commentary on धरमचि's प्राकृतप्रशास्य, was from the pen of this very भास्मह, the author of काव्यालङ्कार, it might be held to have been the oldest work on Prakrit Grammar, next only to धरमचि, the author of the सूक्ष्म it comments upon In this connection it may be pointed out that the later महाराट्टो—not to say

the other dialects—does not wholly conform to the rules of वर्णविचार as explained by भास्मह and that the later commentators, वसन्तराज and others, have tried to explain the सुत्र in a much more comprehensive way. Howsoever it may be, it is undoubtedly clear that the picture of society found in the work of भास्मह—faintly drawn though it may be—can be clearly distinguished from what we find depicted in the काव्यादर्श of दण्डी. The poetic luminaries so familiar to the eyes of भास्मह's age had, by the time of दण्डी, totally disappeared from the horizon. The elegant simplicity of the earlier Muse had not as yet hardened into sentimental ideas and artistic expressions. The sharp controversies ranging between the Buddhists and the Hindus in the time of भास्मह, had led to the study of the science and art of Polemics, so that even a work on Poetics was expected to take the topics into consideration. But the atmosphere seems to have wholly changed by the time of दण्डी. The heroes of popular stories were yet fresh in the memory of the people. Coming to the field of Poetics itself, we find not a few points of contrast along with those of similarity in the works of these two authors. There is no use enlarging upon this topic, for, it can become obvious to even a casual reader of the said works. We feel, therefore, inclined to believe that भास्मह was separated from दण्डी not by decades but by centuries.

भास्मह and धर्मकीर्ति.

We have shown above that on the evidence of आनन्दवर्धन in अन्यालोक, भास्मह cannot be placed later than यात्रा who flourished in the first half of the 7th century; but this view is seriously challenged by the hypothesis that भास्मह has borrowed some logical topics from धर्मकीर्ति. Dr. Jacobi has discussed this point at some length and in

that connection has considered the date of धर्मकीर्ति. He places धर्मकीर्ति between the sojourns in India of Houen Tsang and of Itsing. The former who travelled between 630 and 643 makes no reference to the Buddhist Logician. The latter, travelling between 671 to 695, seems clearly to have heard of him. Tārānātha¹ makes धर्मकीर्ति a contemporary of the Tibetan King Sron tsan-gam po who lived during 627-698 A. C. So the middle of the seventh century may be fairly taken to be the date of धर्मकीर्ति. If, however, it could be proved, as Jacobi has tried to do, that भास्मह had actually utilised the logical work of धर्मकीर्ति, the statement of आनन्दवर्धन would considerably lose in value and भास्मह would consequently have the chance of being dragged down to the 8th century at least. Let us first examine the arguments put forward therefor.

All the arguments put forward for establishing the indebtedness of भास्मह to धर्मकीर्ति are based upon a few points of similarity existing in their works². They are only three. Let us take them one by one. भास्मह has given two definitions of अनुमान—

त्रिरूपात्तिको शानमनुमानं च केचन ।
तद्विदो नान्तरीयायदर्शनं चापरे विदु ॥ काव्या० V 11

Now we know from the तात्पर्यटीका of धाचस्त्रतिमिथ up to न्यायधार्तिक that the definition of अनुमान, as given here in the second half of the sloka, came originally from दिल्लीनाग³. But what are we to say about the first definition? "Die

1. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, pp 305-6

2. See Dr. Jacobi's 'Bhāsmah und Dandin ihr Alter und ihre Stellung in der indischen Poetik' in Sitz. d. Preuss Akad d Wiss., XXIV, 1922, pp 211-212.

3. See Dr. Randle's 'Fragments from Dīnāgītī,' pp 21-22.

erste der beiden von Bhāmaha gegeben Definitionen", writes Dr. Jacobi, "mutz also von einem andern Philosophen herrühren". And who is that another philosopher? It is धर्मकीर्ति—says Dr. Jacobi, for, at one place of his न्यायविन्दु, we read अनुमानं द्विष्ठा स्वार्थं परार्थं च, तत्र स्वार्थं विरूपास्त्रिकाद् यदनुमेये शानं तदनुमानम्।

In this case as well as in the cases following, the question, which we are to put to ourselves, should be whether a particular view—लिङ्गस्य प्रैरूप्यम् for instance—is peculiar with someone or is common to many. Such an argument can have any weight only when the view concerned is original. Unfortunately we do not find any such thing in the present case. लिङ्गस्य प्रैरूप्यम् is a too well-known thing with our नैयायिकाः to have originated with धर्मकीर्ति. It is quite sufficient for our purpose here to show that it was known even to दिल्लूनाग. Thanks to the labours of the late lamented Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, we can have some knowledge of दिल्लूनाग's works. दिल्लूनाग in his प्रमाणसमुच्चय spoke of स्वार्थानुमान thus¹: An inference for one's self (svārthānumāna, tan-don-gyi-tjeṣ-đpag) is defined as the knowledge of a thing derived through its mark or sign of three characters. Will it not, when turned into Sanskrit, read somewhat exactly like the extract from न्यायविन्दु of धर्मकीर्ति cited above? In this connection we are to note one thing more. The way in which भामह gives this definition along with that of दिल्लूनाग, does not only show that it came from some other source, but also to the fact that it formed an earlier and more commonly accepted view. Besides प्रमाणसमुच्चय, we have a clear description of लिङ्गस्य प्रैरूप्यम् in न्यायप्रवेश.² Whoever might be the

1. See Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, p. 280

2. This work has been so long known only through Tibetan

aother of this work,¹ none has so far tried to prove that it was written after धर्मकीर्ति. Thus we see that भास्म ह was oot in aoy way indehted to धर्मकीर्ति for his knowledge of लिङ्गस्य व्रैरूप्यम्. We are very much inclined to think that he had not to thank even दिड्नाग for, at least, this section of Indian Logic. He might have probably derived his knowledge from some earlier logiciao

The other statement of भास्म ह which has been said to correspond with that of धर्मकीर्ति is दूषण न्यूनताद्युक्ति (काव्या० V 28) धर्मकीर्ति has दूषणानि न्यूनताद्युक्ति²। The similarity is indeed striking. But the question again comes up Is it an original idea of धर्मकीर्ति? The same question may be raised with regard to the third corresponding statement of भास्म ह—जातये दूषणाभासा (काव्या० V 29) Does धर्मकीर्ति propound a new theory when he says दूषणाभासास्तु जातय³? In both the above cases, धर्मकीर्ति does not appear to have anything peculiar to himself. The दूषणs and जातis have been known to earlier writers

Texts Fortunately it is now going to b- published by Principal A B Dhruba in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. We owe our knowledge of it to the kindness of Principal Dhruba

For the three characteristics of the Middle Term (लिङ्गस्य व्रैरूप्यम्) as found in न्यायप्रसरा see History of Indian Logic p 291

1 The question is a mooted one. We postpone its discussion for the time being.

2 न्यायविन्दु, (Peterson's Edn) III 138

Benares Edn reads दूषणा न्यूनताद्युक्ति See p 132

3 न्यायविन्दु, Peterson's Edn III 140 Benares Edn p 133

as well¹. In न्यायप्रवेश we have similar descriptions of दृष्टिः and जातिः²

Mr. P. V. Kane³, who, as has been noted before, pointed out the similarity existing between the works of भामह and धर्मकीर्ति, quite independently of Dr. Jacobi, has cited another sloka from भामह's काव्यालङ्कार, appearing somewhat exactly like a passage in धर्मकीर्ति⁴: न्यायविन्दु. भामह's sloka reads thus;

सत्त्वादयः प्रमाणाद्यां प्रत्यक्षमनुमाच ते ।

असाधारणसामान्यविषयत्वं तयोः फिल ॥ काव्या०-V. ५

धर्मकीर्ति writes thus

दिविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च (p 10). तस्य विषयः स्वलक्षणं (p. 21)अन्यत् सामान्यलक्षणं (p 24) सोऽनु-मानस्य विषयः (p. 25) Now it may be again pointed out here that this division and definition of प्रमाणः has not originated with धर्मकीर्ति । Almost all the logicians who were opposed to अक्षपाद (who propounded four प्रमाणः) had mostly a similar view दिड्गाम, for instance, in his प्रमाणसमुच्चय (ch 1) states that प्रमाणाः are only two, *vis*, perception and inference All objects being known through them, there is no other प्रमाण । Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa has restored the Sanskrit original thus

1. They are too well-known to require much argumentation for establishing their existence before धर्मकीर्ति In this connection it will be, however, interesting to refer to a न्यायसूत्र of गौतम (1-2 18) and वात्स्यायन's भाष्य thereon The sutra is साधस्यंपैषस्याद्यां प्रत्यपस्थानं जातिः । वात्स्यायन comments upon it thus.—प्रयुक्ते हि हैतीयः प्रसङ्गो जायते सा जातिः । स च प्रयुक्तः साधस्यंपैषस्याद्या प्रत्यपस्थानं सुपालम्ब. प्रतिपेध इति । प्रत्यनाकभावाजायमानोऽथौ जातिरिति ।

2 See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic, p 298

3 Introduction to his Edn of साहित्यदर्शण, p XL

प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च प्रमाणं हि दिलक्षणम् ।
प्रमेयं तत्र सिद्धं हि न प्रमाणान्तरं भवेत् ॥

It will be seen from the above that all those passages from धर्मकीर्ति, which have been cited as originals of भास्मह's शlokas, have no originality with themselves. They represent views which were quite well known even before the birth of the Buddhist logician. Under such circumstances one cannot safely argue that भास्मह was indebted to धर्मकीर्ति and to nobody else. Dr Jacobi is not such a superficial scholar as to be convinced of भास्मह's indebtedness to धर्मकीर्ति simply upon the basis of accidental similarity of views. We presume that it was the partial similarity of phraseology too which led him to entertain such a view. But to our mind, the similarity of phraseology in the present case is not so very significant. Striking similarity is seen only in the sentences which deal with दूषणः and जातिः. But there again, we cannot say that धर्मकीर्ति was the first person to use them. With equal force, we may say that it was भास्मह who wrote them first of all. We see no absurdity in it. If श्रान्तगतितः, philosopher as he was, did not find it inconvenient to repeat the phraseology of our poetician, we see no reason why धर्मकीर्ति would not do the same, if he could find something handy, cut and dried, from him.

What we want to emphasise very particularly is simply this that the similarity of phraseology even if it could be proved to exist beyond doubt, will not by itself be of much use. In such a case there are three alternatives possible, each of which being equally tenable. Now with regard to the topic in question, unless and until more definite evidence is forthcoming, none can be justified in claiming that भास्मह borrowed views and phraseology from धर्मकीर्ति. It may be

equally cogent to say that धर्मकीर्ति was indebted to भास्मह or both of them had utilised some common source.

As far as we are aware, Dr. Jacobi did not point out any other line of evidence which could further support his assumption. "Diese Entlehnungen Bhāmahas" says the great orientalist, "aus Dharmakīrtis Nyāyabindu beweisen, dass er jünger als dieser, wenn auch vielleicht nur ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse desselben, war". But how has the indebtedness of भास्मह been proved? There he writes thus: "Nun lautet Dharmakīrtis Definition, Nyāyabindu II. 3: tatra tritāpālliagād yad anumeye jñānam, tad anumānam so ähnlich der Bhāmaha von gegebenen, dass kaum noch ein Zweifel darüber bestehen kann, woher letzterer sie genommen hat. Noch deutlicher zeigen uns das Bhāmaha Definitionen der dūṣapas und der jātis in V. 28." This is the sum and substance of all his statements in this connection. We really wonder how such a veteran scholar as Dr. Jacobi, with such faulty and inadequate premises, could jump to such a momentous conclusion. Mr. P. V. Kāne, with characteristic cautiousness of a lawyer, did not, though suggesting the same line of argument, commit himself in any way. He is perhaps more inclined to suggest भास्मह's indebtedness to द्विष्टनाम, if he could only prove it. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Jacobi's hypothesis is not now meeting with that universal approbation which it was at first expected to do. It has been called in question by Dr. J. Nobel² and quietly ignored by Dr. B. Bhāṭṭāchārya³.

1. See his Introduction to साहित्यदर्पण, p. XL.

2. 'Die Avantisundarikathā', Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistic, Bd. V, p. 150

3. Foreword to शान्तरश्मिक's रत्नसंदूषक (G. O. S. XXX), pp. LXXIX—LXXX.

The best way for determining whether भास्मह was indebted to धर्मकीर्ति or not would have been perhaps the comparison of भास्मह's views with the peculiar views of धर्मकीर्ति. It is known to all who know anything of mediaeval logic that धर्मकीर्ति, though a follower of दिङ्गानग, did not adopt his views *in toto*. The peculiarities of धर्मकीर्ति have been carefully noted by Dr Vidyabhushana¹ and a reference to these will surely make it clear that no special view of the Buddhist logician has been represented in the work of भास्मह. On the contrary there are indications which point diametrically to the opposite side. We may just refer to some of them. The definition of प्रत्यक्ष, as given by दिङ्गानग, is प्रत्यक्ष कल्पनापोदम्². To this an important addition is made by धर्मकीर्ति by saying प्रत्यक्ष कल्पनापोदमभ्रान्तम्³. Now the term अभ्रान्त is not such as can be ignored by any person coming after him. दिङ्गानग's definition was rather too general and consequently could be interpreted to apply to everything so that everything will be प्रत्यक्ष. उद्योतकर did actually interpret it in this way⁴. To avoid this contingency धर्मकीर्ति added अभ्रान्त which made it clear that by प्रत्यक्ष, we were to mean here प्रत्यक्षवान् and nothing else. Who will indulge in such an inexactitude

1 See Vidyabhushana's History of Indian Logic pp 315—318

2 वाचस्पतिमिथ in his तात्पर्यटीका, while commenting upon 'अपरे तु मन्यन्ते प्रत्यक्ष कल्पनापोदमिति' begins सम्प्रति दिङ्गानगस्य लक्षणमुपन्यस्यति अपर इति। See also Vidyabhushana's History of Indian Logic pp 276—277 and Dr Riddle's Fragments from Dinnaga pp 8—10

3 See न्यायविन्दु (Benares Edn.) p 11

4 He takes it as स्वरूपतो न ज्यपदशयम्।

when once it has been so pointed out ? भास्मृ gives two definitions of प्रत्यक्ष in a single line. It is—

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापेदं ततोऽर्थादिति फेचन—काव्या० V.6.

one of the two definitions—the first of them—belongs, on the authority of वाचस्पति मिश्र, to दिङ्ग्नाग and the second, on the same authority, to घसुयन्धु¹, the teacher of दिङ्ग्नाग. Now can it be imagined that भास्मृ could have afforded to leave out धर्मकीर्ति's definition, had he been aware of it ? Besides, कल्पना is defined by धर्मकीर्ति in a strikingly different way. According to him कल्पना is अभिलापसंसर्गयोग्यप्रतिभास-प्रतीतेः². But उद्योतकर, while discussing दिङ्ग्नाग's definition of प्रत्यक्ष, says : 'अथ क्येण कल्पना ? नामजातियोजनेति । यत् किल न नामनाभिधीयते न च जात्यादिभिर्व्यपदिश्यते ।'³ वाचस्पति-मिश्र calls it लक्षणवादिनामुत्तरम्⁴. Now the लक्षणवादीs must be दिङ्ग्नाग and all those who had a similar view. We may presume that भास्मृ was also one of them—at least conversant with the view—for he says कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रति-जानते-काव्या० V.6 It may be admitted that धर्मकीर्ति's definition of कल्पना is more academic in tone exactly as his definition of प्रत्यक्ष is more exact in expression. If भास्मृ could afford to give two views on an important issue, he would not, we think, mind to give a third one also, if it was more useful and suitable, as धर्मकीर्ति's definitions indeed are.

1. वाचस्पतिमिश्र begins his comment upon 'अपरे पुनर्वर्णयन्ति ततोऽर्थाद् विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम् । तदेवं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं समर्थं वास्यन्यवं तावत् प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं विकल्पयितुमुपन्यस्यति-ता० p. 99. See also Dr. Randle's Fragments from Dīnāgīa, p. 12—13.

2. न्यायविन्दु, p. 13.

3. न्यायरात्तिक, p. 44.

4. तात्पर्यटीका, p. 102.

One thing more should be noted in this connection. As far as we know धर्मकीर्ति has nowhere in his extant works shown any regard to the views of वसुवन्धु though his pupil, दिल्लीनारायण, is his great authoritative source. But भास्मह has referred to the views of the older logician in unmistakable language. May we not assume with probability that, by the time of धर्मकीर्ति, वसुवन्धु had been somewhat eclipsed by his decidedly nobler pupil? It is quite possible that भास्मह lived in an age when वसुवन्धु was not so forgotten. He still commanded respectful attention from scholars along with दिल्लीनारायण.

It will be undoubtedly quite profitable to give here the results of a detailed comparison of these works but we are afraid the space at our disposal will not permit it. We may, in passing just note a few points. भास्मह has six पदार्थान्तराः¹ but धर्मकीर्ति has only four.² If we were to look into न्यायप्रबेश we shall find no less than nine.³ But what is very interesting to note is that some of the definitions and examples of भास्मह wholly correspond with those in न्यायप्रबेश। दृष्टान्त is included by धर्मकीर्ति in त्रिरूपहेतु⁴ but भास्मह takes it separately⁵ exactly as we find it in न्यायप्रबेश and प्रमाणसमुच्चय। In न्यायप्रबेश and प्रमाणसमुच्चय we further find दृष्टान्त divided into two classes according to the way they are possible either by साध्यमयं or वैधमयं⁶। This is also the case with भास्मह। But धर्मकीर्ति has

1 काव्यालङ्कार, v 13 20

2 न्यायविन्दु, pp 84 85

3 न्यायप्रबेश—See in the History of Indian Logic pp 290 291

4 त्रिरूपो हेतुरूप । तार्दत्तवार्प्यप्रताविरिति न पृथग् दृष्टान्तो नाम साधनावयव कश्चित्। तेन नाम्य स्थशण पृथगुच्छत—न्यायविन्दु, p 117

5 काव्यालङ्कार, v 21, v 26-27

6 History of Indian Logic, pp 286-7, 293-6 In these

no such division. The few points, noted above, are quite sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person that भास्मह's borrowing from धर्मकीर्ति is any thing but possible.

Even if these points were not available, we could have shown that भास्मह's coming after धर्मकीर्ति cannot be imagined. धर्मकीर्ति, as shown above, lived about 650 A. C. and hailed from the South of India. शान्तरक्षित lived in Bengal in the beginning of the 8th century. Now, we cannot, with any stretch of our imagination, conceive that within half a century such a progress could be possible in those days of hard communication. धर्मकीर्ति becomes sufficiently famous, his works are carried to Kashmir, there भास्मह utilises them for writing his own work, then he also becomes well-known, his work reaches Bengal and is devoured by शान्तरक्षित—and all this was accomplished within half a century ! It seems to be hardly possible. We have no reason, therefore, to doubt आनन्दचलेन्द्र's statement that धारुण was acquainted with भास्मह's work, so that 600 A.C. can be safely taken to be the lower limit of भास्मह's date.

But what should be his upper limit ? The fore-going discussion has shown that भास्मह was familiar with the views, which are, on the authority of चाचस्पतिमिथ, ascribed to दिल्लनाग ! We have further shown that his views sometimes correspond with those which are found in म्यायप्रवेश । Nanjo¹ and Takakusu² ascribe this work to नागार्जुन । But Pandit Vidyasankara Bhāskāchārya thinks that Nanjo " has cases resemblance in phraseology as also to be noted. धर्मकीर्ति has, however, got such a division in द्वान्ताभास.

1. Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, p. 270, Nos. 1223, 1224.

2. A Record of the Buddhist Religion by Itsing, pp. 177, 185,

made a mistake in rendering the name into Sanskrit. The name, as given in Chinese in the book itself, is Yü-lun, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is Dinnaga.¹ But, according to Sugiura² and U.,³ न्यायप्रवेश is attributed by the Chinese tradition to शङ्करस्वामी। दिन्नाग's work, according to this view, was न्यायद्वार, quite distinct from न्यायप्रवश्। Dr Randle⁴ sees 'no reason to doubt the correctness of the Chinese attribution of the न्यायद्वार to Dinnaga.' That being the case, it is impossible that Dinnaga should have been the author of न्यायप्रवेश। But we see no reason to doubt the correctness of the Tibetan attribution of the न्यायप्रवेश to दिन्नाग। If that be the case, it is impossible that any other person but दिन्नाग should have been the author of the न्यायप्रवेश। Besides many cogent arguments so ably put forward by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya⁵ for proving that न्यायप्रवेश was the work of दिन्नाग, one thing appears to turn the scale to a very great extent. It is a curious fact that शङ्करस्वामी was not known to either Houen Tsang or Itsing. The Tibetan texts are quite ignorant of his name. The Tibetan translation of the Chinese translation of न्यायप्रवेश clearly shows that at that time even the Chinese did not know of शङ्करस्वामी। It is really inexplicable how they came, later on to associate his name with न्यायप्रवश्। There seems to be some baffling confusion lurking somewhere or other. Unless and until this mystery is cleared up, we shall not know the real ground of its attribution by the

¹ 'The Nyaya Pravesa of Dinnaga' Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol III, p 154

² Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan pp 36-37

³ Vaesika Philosophy, p. 68

⁴ Fragments from Dinnaga, p. 61

⁵ Indian Historical Quarterly Vol III pp 154-159

Chinese to शङ्करस्वामी ! But so far as the Tibetan Text,¹ as edited by Pandit Viñhusekhar Bhattacharya, is concerned, it is more than probable that it is the work of दिल्लनाग ! The learned editor has compared it with the Chinese and Sanskrit Versions and does not perhaps find material difference between them. So what is said of the Tibetan version with regard to its authorship, may be, therefore, true of other versions as well.² We have every hope that this puzzling enigma will be cleared up by Principal Dhruva's Introduction to the Sanskrit Version of the न्यायप्रवेश³ !

It does not, however, matter much for us even if शङ्करस्वामी was to be proved the author of न्यायप्रवेश ! He is said to have been the pupil of दिल्लनाग and consequently must have been his younger contemporary. So when we find clear resemblance of certain views and expressions in भास्मह's work from the works of दिल्लनाग and न्यायप्रवेश, we can, without hesitation, say that दिल्लनाग's date will furnish the upper limit to भास्मह's age.

The date of दिल्लनाग depends upon the date of his teacher, वसुयन्धु ! Naopio informs us that कुमारजीव wrote a life of वसुयन्धु⁴ between A. C. 401 and 409 and परमार्थ, who lived between A. C. 499 and 560, wrote another.⁵ From

1. Gaekwad Oriental Series, XXXIX Part II.

2. Dr. N. D. Minorov contributes a paper on 'Dilniga's Nyaya Pravesha and Haribhadra's commentary on it,' to the volume presented to Dr. Garbe. We have not as yet seen it, but from the title we may assume that he is also inclined to attribute न्यायप्रवेश to दिल्लनाग !

3. G. O. S. XXXIX Part I.

4. Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, app. I. 64.

5. Ibid No. 1463.

परमार्थ^१ we know that वसुदेव was a contemporary of विक्रमादित्य, who is identified by V A Smith^२ with Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta Dynasty. If this line of argument is followed, as has been done by V A Smith^३ and M Peri^४, वसुदेव, who died, it is said, at the age of 80, will be found to have been living between 280—360 A C. But unfortunately all scholars are not at one. Different scholars assign different dates to वसुदेव^५. The other most important view is that which places him between 420—500 A C.^६ But the majority of the scholars^७ appears to be inclined towards the former view. Undoubtedly that view appears, to say the least, much more probable. If we were to subscribe to the other view, the whole subsequent chronology becomes awfully disturbed. Then we have to look upon कुमारजीव's 'Life of Vasuhadhu' as a myth and disbelieve the traditions which make वसुदेव one of the Patriarchs and his work as having been translated into Chinese by कुमारजीव^८.

So we have seen above that there is every probability of वसुदेव having lived between 280 and 360 A C. Now दिङ्गनाग, being his pupil, must have been his junior contemporary and so must have lived somewhere before 400. Now, if 400 A C is to be the approximate date of दिङ्गनाग, that date must also be considered to furnish the upper limit to भास्मह's date. We may, therefore, safely say

१ Takakusu, J R A S, 1903, p 44

२ Early History of India, 3rd Edn, p 320

३ Ibid, pp 328 ff

४ Bull de l Ecole française d Extreme-orient, XI 355 ff

५ Vidyābhūṣana's History of Indian Logic, pp 266—267

६ Keith—Indian Logic and Atomism, p 98, Buddhist Philosophy p 155, B Bhattacharya's Foreword to रत्नसंग्रह (G O S XXX) pp LXVI—LXXX

that भास्मद् must have lived between the dates of दिद्धनाग and वारु � viz , between 400 and 600 A C

If we wish to be a little more exact with regard to the date of भास्मद्, we should try to find out whether he was nearer to दिद्धनाग or to धर्मकीर्ति । We have already shown that his views correspond much more with those of दिद्धनाग than those of धर्मकीर्ति । We have further shown that he was living in an age when the old teachers were not as yet forgotten This fact can be further borne out by a careful comparison of his work with the extant works of those teachers At some places he has referred the reader for details to other works which are not found perhaps in दिद्धनाग's works We have further to take into consideration that भास्मद्'s fame must have taken some time for becoming so much ripe as to induce a poet of Banavasi यारु indeed was, to become acquainted with the work of the great Kashmirian If we may be permitted to allow a century for it, we shall be, we think, not wrong in placing भास्मद् before 500 A C But the way he writes the atmosphere he breathes the company he keeps,—all these leave us still unsatisfied We are very much tempted to think that he was not far removed from दिद्धनाग, though we cannot positively prove it by direct evidence The fifth chapter of his वाच्याराद्धार, seeming so much with philosophical logic, rather smacking much more as it were, of polemics, makes us believe that he was living in an age which was permeated with debate and controversy in every quarter Such a period in Indian History was possible only with such scholars as दिद्धनाग । We know from accounts¹, preserved here and

¹ Lama Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhasimus von Schlesinger, pp 132—135 वृत्त्याकृष्ण's History of Indian Logic, pp 272—274

there, that the great आचार्य spent his whole life in vehement शास्त्रार्थ—heated controversy and debate. He was known in his times as तर्कपुङ्क्ष or a fighting bull. But such an age did not last for a long time. By the time of दण्डी, न्यायनिर्णय or settling the logic of poetry, which was considered so very necessary an appendage in a work on Poetics by भामह, came to be considered as a useless कर्कशविचार¹ ! Even in the time of धार्णा, we find no indication of the continuation of दिल्लीनाग's age of passionate debate and heated controversy. Further, no indication to that effect has been furnished even by the 5th and 6th century inscriptions of the Guptas. Thus we are not far wrong in believing that that age of controversy almost came to an end with दिल्लीनाग ! Hence we may conclude that भामह was either a coetemporary of or came immediately after दिल्लीनाग who, we know, became widely known throughout the country on account of his incessant wanderings on controversy tours². Consequently we may state that भामह was, with all probability living about 400 A C or, if न्यायप्रबोध happens to be proved the work of शकरस्वामी, a few years later.

भामह's WORKS

It is indeed very difficult—if not wholly impossible—to determine whether our author had written any other work besides the well known काव्यालङ्कार। We find, no doubt, the name of भामह associated with certain quotations which are not traceable in the काव्यालङ्कार। राघवमट, in his commentary, अर्थदोतिनिका, on अभिधानशास्त्रानुतल quotes twice in the name of भामह extracts which are nowhere to be found in the काव्यालङ्कार। One of them appears to have

¹ विचार कर्कश प्राप्तेनालीडन कि फलम्-काव्यादर्थं

² Tigrantha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefer

been taken from a work on Metrics¹ and the other from some work on Poetics². The latter sentence, curiously enough, is met with, with slight modifications in the अलङ्कारसारसंग्रह of उद्धट and its example in काव्यप्रकाश। Some slokas are quoted by नारायणभट्ट in his commentary on चृत्तरत्नाकर in the name of भामह। These seem to have been taken from a work on Metrics³.

1. क्षेमं सर्वगुरुदत्ते मगणो भूमिदैवतः इति भामहोत्ते: p. 4. (निं० सा० edition).
2. तद्वक्षगमुक्तं भामदेन—पर्यायोद्देशं प्रकारेण यदन्वेनाभिधीयते । वाच्यग्राहक-शक्तिभ्यां शून्येनावगमात्मना । इति । उदाहृतं च हयशीववधस्यं पद्यं ‘यं प्रेक्ष्य चिरस्त्वापि निगासप्रीतिरन्विता । मदेनैरावणमुखे भानेन हृदये हरे’ इति । p. 10.
3. सदुक्तं भामदेन—

अवगांत् सप्तसिर्भवति भुद्विगांदगवात्-
न्तुवगांदल्याति. सरभसमृक्णांदिरहितात् ।
तथा ऐयः सौर्यं दग्धरहितादक्षरगणात्,
पदादौ विन्यासात् भरवदलहाराविरहितात् ॥

चृत्तरत्नाकर, p. 6 (Benares Edition).

सदुक्तं भामदेनैय—

देवतावाचका. दाशदा ये च मद्दादियापसाः ।
ते सर्वे नव निन्द्याः स्तुर्विषितो गगतोऽपि या ॥
क शो गो पद्य इर्मीं चित्तरवि विषयो इन्द्राणा यः एवं एः
श्रीति जो गित्रालभ भयमरणस्तो श्वौ ट्यौ गेद्यु ये ।
इ शोभा दो विदोर्भा अमरगमय च णन्ताः एवं पद्य मुद्द
दो च शौल्यं शूरं च उपम्यमरणस्तेश्यु ते पदाः ॥
यो इर्मीं रथ द्वाहै अमनमय एषी च एवं पद्य सेदं
ग शौल्यं इधं गेरे विष्णवमपि च ए इः समृद्धि करोति ।
‘तुलं ये ह च स्यात् उपमरणस्तुर्देवं विन्यामयोगः
पदादौ गणन्ते वर्णमि च गान्ते पात्रादौ गमोऽप्यम् ॥

चृत्तरत्नाकर p. 7.

Besides these extracts, coming down to us to the name of भामह, presumably taken from works now wholly lost, we have a well known commentary on प्राकृतप्रकाश, the Prakrit Grammar written in sutras by वरस्त्रचि It is called प्राकृतमनोरमा and is considered to be the oldest commentary now extant¹

We have no direct evidence to prove or disprove that it was the author of काव्यालङ्कार who wrote the works referred to above. Who can say if there were not several persons bearing the same common appellation? But it is not every person bearing a similar name who is equally famous. The author of the प्राकृतमनोरमा, however, has been identified by somewhat the writer of काव्यालङ्कार Dr Pischel² following Peterson³ did not even doubt, that the two भासग्गs might be different. He says— 'Der älteste commentator is Bharaha, ein Kaschmirer, der auch Rhetor und Dichter war. As far as we can see, their opinion seems to have been based upon the hearsay of the Paodits. Howsoever reliable their views may be we would very much wish that they were backed by historical evidence so that they could be pronounced as perfectly definite. But it appears at the same time simply impossible to believe that such a versatile scholar as the author of काव्यालङ्कार seems to have been could have remained perfectly idle before or after the writing of his brilliant work on Rhetoric. So, in a word, we do not find ourselves in a position to pronounce any definite opinion either this way or that way.

¹ Pischels Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, p. 35

² Ib d.

³ उभापितापणी, p. 79 See also Aufrechts Catalogus Catalogorum and Pischels Rudrata p. 61

काव्यालङ्कार.

We wish very much that we could discuss thoroughly and examine critically the learned and interesting contents of the काव्यालङ्कार, but the consideration of space does not permit us to enlarge upon this topic at any great length. It is enough to remember here that भास्म ह has divided his work into six परिच्छेद or sections treating of five topics. They are as under—

1. काव्यशुरीर. To this section 60 verses have been devoted. They dispose of a few general questions about poetry, its use, definition, etc :

2. अलङ्कार. This topic consists of the definitions and illustrations of the Figures of Speech. It is interesting to meet here with a few names of poets who are now wholly unknown. This portion covers 160 verses ;

3. देश. Here भास्म ह discusses the demerits of poetic compositions in 50 verses ;

4. न्यायनिर्णय—Here he tries to settle the logical foundation of poetry. Really speaking, this section and the section following form parts of the discussions on the demerits of compositions. But as Logic and Grammar appear to have been reigning supreme in his days, the author was led to devote, unlike many others, special sections to them. This section has for its share 70 verses :

5. शब्दगुह्यता—Here the author tries to instruct the would be poets to take care of and avoid the grammatical mistakes which are ever so prone to creep in. This section has 60 verses¹

1. भास्म ह himself has summed up the whole thing at the end of his काव्यालङ्कार—

पद्मा दातीरं निर्मीतं दावरपदम् शब्दगुह्यता;

पद्मालाला द्रवदेहि एषात्पदा न्यायनिर्णयः ॥

भामह—HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

We have seen, at the very outset, in what a great esteem भामह has all along been held by almost all the great writers of Sanskrit Poetics. He is found quoted in the works of उद्धट, धामन, कुन्तक, आनन्दवर्घन, अभिनवगुप्त, ममट and many others of different times and divergent views. With equal regard he has been often referred to by such writers of eminence as the authors of अलङ्कारसर्वस्य, प्रतापरुद्रीय, एकावली and others¹. This fact cannot but rouse a sense of inquisitiveness in our hearts to study the work of भामह as thoroughly as to find out his merits of such a stable and enduring attraction. But this is not an easy thing as it will necessitate a thorough review of the important अलंकारika works for comparison as well as for tracing their indebtedness to our poetician. But the consideration of this topic may find a fitting place in a History of Sanskrit Poetics and not in a paper like this. All that we can do is to take a brief historical survey of our subject and determine as correctly as possible the place occupied therein by भामह।

पटग शश्वत्य शुद्धिः स्यादित्येऽयन्तुपग्रहम् ।
उत्त पद्मि परिलोहैर्भास्तेन प्रमेण य ॥

For the detailed description of the contents, see Kane's Introduction to भामहित्यर्थ, pp XVI-XVII, for a critical review of the contents the reader is referred to Trivedi's excellent paper 'Some Notes on Bhāmahi' in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume and Dr Des's History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol II, pp 401-412.

¹ For such details see Trivedi's article in Indian Antiquary, Vol XLII (1913) and also his Introduction to भामहित्यर्थ प्रतापग्रहम्

The worship of सरस्वती—the service of the Poetic Muse—has been from very early times one of the favourite hobbies of the Aryan people. Even the oldest attempt at poetry by the primeval ancestors of the human race—the ऋग्येद—contains many sparkling gems of genuine poetry. It appears that the Aryas had undoubtedly an artistic conception of poetry from the very beginning, for we meet even in the earliest poems, with expressions of such exquisite aesthetic charm as have been later on elaborately treated of in the works of Poetics as अलङ्कार or figures of speech¹.

We find a treatment of उपमा in the निरुक्त of यास्क², who, at one place, refers to a quite workable definition of this figure given by गार्य³। यास्क gives further such divisions of उपमा⁴ which seem to have been the fore-runners of the subtle distinctions made later on. By the time of पाणिनि such technical words as उपमान, उपमेय etc. had become perfectly well-established⁵. We find further a reference to

1. See ऋग्येद I. 124. 7 ; I. 164. 20 ; I. 164.

11. See also कठोपनिषद् I. 3. 3. and मुण्डकोपनिषद् II. 2. 3.

Besides these, we may also refer to the several hymns containing charming dialogues, known as संवाद hymns found in the ऋग्येद. See especially X. 108 ; III. 33.

These hymns have been considered as the fore-runners of the Sanskrit Drama by Dr. Oldenberg and others.

2. I. 4 ; III. 13-18 ; IX. 6

3. अपात उपमा यदतन् तत्पृष्ठमिति गार्यः । तदासां कम्लं ज्यायसा वा गुणेन प्रस्त्याततमेन वा कनीयांसं वाप्रख्यातं वोपमिमीते, वायापि कनीयमा ज्यायांमम् । —निरुक्त, III. 13

4. III. 13-18; IX. 6.

5. See पाणिनि's अष्टाव्यायी II. 1. 55-56 ; II. 3. 72.

नटसूत्रs in the grammer of पाणिनि¹ which, whatever their character, must have had something to do with the actors. Further, tradition credits पाणिनि with the authorship of two महाकाव्यs known as पातालविजय and जाम्बवती विजय² though, it is still an open question whether the Grammario and the Poet were one and the same³. From the धार्तिक of काल्यायन it is evident that such a division of काव्य as आख्यायिका had already come into existence⁴. पतञ्जलि, the author of the महाभाष्य on Panini's Sutras, has fortunately left many clues by which one can safely surmise that literary activities had been the characteristic of that age. He refers to one महाकाव्य⁵ three आख्यायिकास⁶ and two नाटकs⁷ by name, besides many quotations and references of undoubted literary significance⁸.

These early grammatical works, as we have seen above do not fail to make us infer that the secular literature had begun to thrive somewhat luxuriantly even in the early periods of our ancient history. We find additional support to this hypothesis from the रामायण and the महाभारत which

1. पारादर्थदिलालिम्यां भितुनस्येषाः, IV. 3. 110. ; कर्मन्-
दृशाशादिनिः, IV. 3. 111.
2. Winteritz. Geschichte der indischen Litteratur,
Vol. III. p. 32.
3. Dr. Peterson : JBRAS, XVII (1889), 57ff. J.R.A.S. 1891,
311. ff; Pischel : ZDMG, 39. (1885) 95 ff; R.G.
Bhandarkar, JBRAS, XVI, 344
4. शुक्राख्यायिकाम्यो चतुर्म् on the सूत्र, शपित्वं इते धन्यः ।
5. यजेन इते न यतेन प्रोर्ण यारर्ण फाल्पम् । महाभाष्य Vol. II, p. 315
6. They are यामरदा, उमरोच्चा and भूमर्या. महाभाष्य Vol. II,
p. 313.
7. ये तावर्ते शोभनिका नामेन प्रत्यर्थां इत्यं पातयनिः,
प्रत्यर्थां च वर्ति वर्षपर्वतीति । Vol II, p. 35 and 36.
8. Indian Historical Quarterly Vol II, pp. 464—470

contain a very large number of highly poetic passages. Some of these are found quoted in the later authoritative works on Poetics¹

The रामायण can be considered as a काव्य both from its form and its matter. It is deservedly called an आदिकाव्य. Various dates have been assigned to these two epics by different scholars. Dr Jacobi places रामायण in the 6th century B C². The अर्धशास्त्र of कौटिल्य contains a number of references which clearly prove the existence of literary activities in his days³.

It is not conceivable that with the writing of so much poetry, no speculation about the nature, function, division of poetry could have been going on side by side. That we are not wrong in indulging in such an inference can be clearly made out by looking into the काव्यs and नाटकs of शशद्वेषोप⁴ and by the inscriptions dating 2nd century onwards.

1 See इत्यालोक, pp 63 125 238 and काव्यप्रसादा, उल्लास IV

2 Dr Jacobi Das Ramayana

3 See Winternitz Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Bd III p 369. See also अर्धशास्त्र (Jolly and Schmidt's Edn p 145 f)

4 The contents of his works fully bear out the supposition that he was conversant with the dicta of अलङ्कारशास्त्र. His काव्यs are divided into संग्रहs which, as required, have different metres in the end. His fragmentary dramatic work is called by himself a प्रस्तरण, just as his two extant काव्यs are styled as महाकाव्यs. These few points along with many other minor ones, are quite significant in the case of a Buddhist preacher. For details see Kape-Indian Antiquity 1912 p 127, also Winternitz—Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Vol III pp 33, 34

The inscriptions of रुद्रामन्¹ which may be considered beyond doubt the earliest of such literary inscriptions betray both from their form and contents their acquaintance with speculations on Poetics. Though no work has actually come down to us, we can find out from the नाट्यशास्त्र of भरत² and decidedly from काव्यालङ्कार of भास्कर³ that a very large number of the writers on the subject had already contributed their quota for formulating regular theories of Poetics and Dramaturgy. It is not possible to determine with perfect satisfaction as to which of the two—Poetics and Dramaturgy—preceded the other. There seems to be, however, some probability that the Dramaturgy

: See Epigraphica Indica Vol VIII 36. The inscription which is most useful for our purpose is found at Jaugadh and dated 150 A.C. It is not only written in a poetic style of a high merit but contains many words and phrases which clearly betray their unmistakable acquaintance with some extinct works on Poetics. The following few words may be taken by way of specimen संक्षिप्तवृत्तान्द्रजातोत्सवाविदेयाना धैर्याना प्रमदोत्तमा दंन शब्दार्थगान्वर्णयावायाना विद्यानां महतीना पारणधारण विद्यानप्रयोगावासुविद्युत्सीर्तिना स्पृष्टसुमधुरचित्रान्तशब्द समयोदासाल्लूलगच्छय स्वयमधिगतमहाक्षरसनामा गोन्डकन्या स्वयवरानेकमालयग्राहदाश्म महाक्षत्रंग रुद्रामना। In this connection the Gupta Inscriptions are also of great interest.

2 The present text, even though going by the name of भरत, scarcely seems to be the work of one man. Its contents betray frequent handling and rebinding and the incorporation of matters by persons of different dates. See P. R. Bhadarkar—Indian Antiquary Vol XLI, 14 & Indian Antiquary Vol XLVI Vol XLVI, 14 & Indian Antiquary Vol XLVII Trivedi—Introduction to प्रतारद्यप्तसोभूपग and Indian Antiquary, Vol XLVII

went somewhat ahead of Poetics. The conception of a complete poetry was primarily essentially dramatic¹ and consequently Rhetoric proper fell within the folds of Dramaturgy.² But with the growth of literature, काव्य could not always remain subservient to drama. It claimed an independent consideration for itself, so that in course of time it began to include dramas within its own folds.³

The history of Sanskrit Poetics can, therefore, be conveniently studied in these three stages, viz., (i) the first stage when the consideration of Rhetoric fell under Dramaturgy, (ii) the second stage when the two claimed independently separate considerations⁴, (iii) the third stage when Dramaturgy came to be considered under Poetics. The first stage was characterised by the simple and the crude speculations as is quite natural for a growing science at its outset. The third stage covers the period of speculative elaboration and consequently of a relative perfection⁵.

1 See नाट्यशास्त्र, XVI, 118 (काव्यमाला Edition). The theory is upheld by बामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र I 3 30 32 and अभिनवगुप्त in his अभिनवभारती (Chapter VI) where he says—काव्य तावन्मुख्यतया दशरूपात्मकमेव। सर्गचन्धादौ हि नायिकापा अपि संस्कृतैर्गच्छिरित्यादि वहुतरमनुचितम्।

2 The काव्य may be taken to be, according to भरत, one of the four constituents of a drama. It is called पाठ्यम् and is said to have been derived from प्रसंग। See नाट्यशास्त्र I 17. It is for this reason that देवपाणि, शुणि, अलङ्कार etc. claim only a partial treatment in the नाट्यशास्त्र। See नाट्यशास्त्र अध्याय XVI.

3 अभिनवगुप्त, Chapter 337 and साहित्यदर्शण परिच्छेद VI

4 See भामद्वाप काव्यालङ्कार I 24

5 Really speaking the conception of रस may be taken to be the determining factor of these various stages. It was at first thought that complete रसानुभूति was possible from only a dramatic work by way of a combined effect of काव्य and scrgs

It was in the second stage that the real formative work was undertaken and accomplished¹. This stage can be further considered under two sub stages, the first of which had much to do with speculations on what is called the शूरीर and the second on the आत्मा of poetry. It was आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य, the well known poetician of Kashmir, who initiated and laid a firm foundation of the theory about the आत्मा of poetry, namely, च्वनि :

We have no data to determine the name and time of the author who, for the first time, undertook a scientific study of the शूरीर of poetry. We may, however claim

and acting. The काव्य even after becoming a little more indepen-
deotly popular, could only be thought as generating the चमत्कार of शास्त्र and अर्थ and not of रस ; This explains why we miss the treatment of रस in the works of भास्क, दृढी, वामन and others. But with the advent of the च्वनि School of आनन्दवर्धन a new conception of रस stepped in and decided the fate of the later development. The रस was no mere to be thought of as कार्य or ज्ञाप्य by means of a dramatic action but as च्याप्त्य, being suggested primarily by the words themselves. See अभिनवमारती on नाट्यशास्त्र (Chapter VI).

1. The histrionic considerations had such an upperhand over other elements that the writers in the first stage could devote neither time nor attention to a detailed study of काव्य. Theatrical managements and stage arrangements along with the treatment of अभिनय and संगीत in all their elaborately worked out details, could neither allow them much space nor time for anything else. It has been quite natural in the growth of every science and art that as soon as it becomes liberated from a subordinate position under its genre, it begins to claim attention from all sides and consequently to achieve wide ramifications. Such has also been the case with our काव्य !

from the evidence of the later writers of note that the great exponent of such rhetorical speculations was no other person than the great भास्कुर himself. There is no doubt that a number of writers on this subject¹ preceded भास्कुर but perhaps the quality of their work as shown by the negligence shown to them by even the earlier writers of subsequent times, did not reach a very high water-mark. And it is quite natural. We cannot expect to find that scientific treatment in the infancy of a subject which becomes a necessary characteristic of it as it gradually develops. So we should not be wrong if, from the reverence shown to भास्कुर and negligence to his predecessors we were to infer that the first work on Poetics written on a strictly scientific plan was that of भास्कुर. He seems to have judiciously assimilated the material available in the writings² of his predecessors and with the help of a creative genius which he undoubtedly possessed, arranged them on a sound basis with due elaboration and fitting limitation. The employment of this method has been in his case, as shown by the result, an unqualified success. The views which he held, the theories which he propounded mostly stood the test of time and criticism to such an extent that they were later on upheld by the greatest masters of the subject.

¹ भास्कुर refers to रामदामा in काव्यो, II 19 58 to सेषादी in II 40 88, to शास्त्रपूर्वक II 47. We meet with a number of names which have been referred to as high authorities on Poets in the काव्यमीमांसा of राजापत्र। Some of them are these—पुरानन्द, इषामदेव, आपराजिति, द्वौहिंशि and शानद। No work has come down to us under their names.

² भास्कुर refers to अस्युक्तोत्तर of रामदामा in II 19 59, to राजमित्र of शास्त्रपूर्वक in II 45, III 10 and to an anonymous work called इत्यादृण in III 8.

It will not be, we think, out of place to take this opportunity and point out the salient features of भामह's work by referring to a few instances of such a nature.

The definition of poetry (काव्य) has all along been a matter of great controversy with the writers on Sanskrit Poetics. The easiest and the most convenient expression for denoting what broadly speaking काव्य represents has been given by भामह which is शब्दार्थी काव्यम्¹ । It is given by मध्मट², the author of काव्यप्रकाश, with certain qualifications. It is in fact in these qualifications³ that the germs of divergence, which different schools of Poetics show in point of views they propound exist.

The same observation may be made with regard to the division of गुणs. The गुणs as given in भरत's नाट्यशास्त्र⁴ as also in the काव्यादर्श of दण्डी⁵ are ten in number वामन⁶ doubles the number by assigning them both to शब्द and अर्थ । But all the later poets of note have had only three गुणs including all the others in them⁷. But the first person who could point out that the three गुणs—मारुर्य ओजस् and प्रसाद—were all in all was भामह⁸ । There has been no doubt,

1. काव्यालङ्कार I 16

2. काव्यप्रकाश Chapter I

3. See मधुदेवन्धि's commentary on अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p. 4 (Triveni drum Edn.) He writes thus विशिष्टो शब्दार्थी काव्यम् । तद् विशिष्टय धर्मसुरेन, व्यापारमुदेन, घट्यमुग्येनेति त्रय पश्च etc

4. नाट्यशास्त्र p. 211 (Benares Edn.)

5. काव्यादर्श Chapter I

6. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र

7. See काव्यप्रकाश Chapter VIII, साहित्यर्पण Chapter VIII

8. काव्यालङ्कार II 1-3

some difference of opinion¹ regarding the meaning of these words but as far as the comprehensiveness of the division is concerned भास्मः's views has stood well

The next thing which we are to note in this connection is the consideration of घकोक्ति by भास्मः। घकोक्ति has played an important part in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. If we were to take into consideration the various modes and forms which घकोक्ति has assumed in different times, it may be said to have a history of its own. It was indeed कुन्तक who made much of घकोक्ति and founded a new school by writing his घकोक्तिजीवित²। But as far as our knowledge goes, भास्मः has been the first person to speak of घकोक्ति। घकोक्ति, as treated of by भास्मः³, has not exactly the same significance as it had with कुन्तक but he was undoubtedly the fore runner of कुन्तक in recognising it at least as a vital element of poetic compositions⁴.

The few instances cited above will be, it is believed, sufficient to convince any intelligent person of the high ability and genuine originality of भास्मः's expositions. This conviction is brought home to us with greater insistence by his clear statements⁵ that he duly exercised his critical intelligence before he wrote any thing. Coupled with this high sense of real scholarship, he had, as is evident from his examples, Poetic powers of no mean order. It is indeed

1 See काव्यप्रकाश, Chapter VIII

2 Two Chapters of this work have been ably edited by Dr S K De in Calcutta Oriental Series

3 काव्यालङ्कार, II 85

4 For detailed information about घकोक्ति, see the learned Introduction of Dr S K De to घकोक्तिजीवित।

5 काव्यालङ्कार, III 58, VI 64

a rare combination that a person is gifted with profound scholarship, sound critical acumen, and with the abilities of a clear-headed logician, a clever grammarian and above all a master poet. There is no wonder, therefore, that all the writers on Sanskrit Poetics—including even the humble writers of this humble paper—should bow down their heads with a heart full of deep reverence and grateful appreciation before such an august personality.

II—SOME VARIANTS IN THE READINGS OF THE VAIŚEṢIKA SŪTRAS

BY GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

"It is well known that the text of the philosophical sūtras, as we find it to day, is not generally free from doubtful readings. As regards the Nyāya sūtras in particular, this was noticed in very early times, and in the age of Vachaspati Miśra I (900 A D) they were already in such a state of confusion that he was compelled to revise them personally and give publicity to the result of his revision in the form of a manual, called 'Nyāyasuchinībandha.' There is another work of a similar nature dealing with these sūtras, named 'Nyāyasutroddhara,' attributed to Vachaspati Miśra II (1600 A D). If all the commentaries and glosses on these Sutras, many of which are yet unpublished, are carefully studied a good deal of fresh light will fall upon many of the obscure questions involved and will eventually lead to a more correct determination of the sūtras.

The Sūtras of the other systems of course do not seem to have been so much muddled, but even then it is doubtless that none of them represent, so far as the textual genuineness is concerned, absolute purity of the original form. The study of these sūtras is likely to yield interesting results.

Some years ago I came in possession, for a few days only, of an apparently very old manuscript (undated) of the Vaiśeṣika Sutras. The MS was obtained by a friend of mine from a certain private collection at Benares.* On a

* The owner of the collection being unwilling to have his name disclosed, no attempt was made by me to find it out.

careful reading of these Sūtras I noticed several differences from the current text: (i) firstly, the readings were in several places different; (ii) secondly, some of the sūtras in the current editions were absent; (iii) thirdly, some sūtras not found in the current text were found there; and (iv) fourthly, in one case, what appears as a single sūtra in the current edition was read there as two distinct sūtras.

With these few preliminary remarks I proceed to note the differences, taking the Gujarati Edition (published in 1913) of the Vaisesika Sūtras as standard for purposes of reference.

CHAPTER I.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 16—द्रव्याश्रयो गुणवान् संयोगविभाग-

योर्न कारणमनपेत्ति इति गुणलक्षणम् ।

„ 17—+ + संयोगविभागेषु कारणमनपेत्तमिति ।

„ 19—यथा गुणः ।

„ 20—संयोगविभागवेगानां कर्म ।

„ 21—न द्रव्याणाम् ।

„ 24—गुणवैधम्यत्ति कर्मणाम् ।

„ 25—(a) द्विच्छ्रभूतयः संख्या ।

(b) पृथक्कर्मयोगविभागात् ।

This sūtra (no. 25) is counted in the MS as two separate sūtras, viz. (a) and (b), as shown above.

Sūtra 30— संयोगविभागवेगाश्च कर्मणाम् ।

The sūtra, no. 25, being split up as two sūtras, the total number of the sūtras in this section comes up to 32, rather than 31, as in the printed text.

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 1—कारणामायाश्च, etc.

„ 5—+ + + कर्मन्यं च सामान्यं च विशेषश्च ।

„ 9—‘च’ is omitted.

After the last sūtra in the printed text, i. e. after the 17th sūtra, there appears a unique sūtra in the MS, viz. न तु कार्यभावाद् गुणः ।

CHAPTER II.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra	1.—रूपरसगन्धयती पृथिवी ।
"	6.—+ + द्रवता + +
"	7.—द्रवता
"	9.—स्पर्शश्च ।
"	10.—इत्यदृष्टस्पर्शलिङ्गो + +
"	14—यायोरादमूर्द्धनं नानास्त्रे लिङ्गम् ।
"	15—यायुसन्निकर्म प्रत्यक्षाभायात् ।
	दृष्टं लिङ्गं न विद्यते
"	30—Absent from the manuscript.

Āhnika (ii)

Sutra 1—पुरुषवस्त्रयोः सति भूतिकर्मे गन्धाप्रादुभविता
वस्त्रे गन्धाभावलिङ्गम् ।

„ 19—+श्रयथारूपत्वाच्च ।

CHAPTER III.

Ahnika (i)

Sūtra 7—अन्य एव + +

Åbning (n)

“ 3—+ + एक मनः ।
 “ 10—यदु दृष्टं प्रत्यक्षमहं वेधदत्तः + +
 “ 17—‘न तु’ is omitted from the MS.
 “ 21—शास्त्रसामाःपाणि ।

CHAPTER IV.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 11.—++चातुर्वाणि प्रत्यक्षाणि ।

„ 13.—++सर्वेन्द्रियजं ज्ञानं ++

Before the 7th sūtra of this section, as arranged in the printed edition, there appears to have been another sūtra which has now disappeared. It is quoted by Uddyotakara in his Nyāyavārtika (Benares Edition, p. 231) as—“अद्रव्यद्रव्यत्वात् परमाणावनुपलिधः” । This sūtra is quoted by Puṇyarāja in his Commentary on the Vākyapadiya (Vol. II, p. 180), along with, and in succession of, what now appears as the 6th Sūtra of the current text. His reading however is—“द्रव्यत्वात् परमाणावनुपलिधः” ।

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 1.—तत् ++ग्रिविधम् ।

शरीरेन्द्रियविषयसंबूधम् ।

„ 4.—अलुसंयोगस्यप्रतिपिद्धो मिथः पञ्चानाम् ।
पार्थिवं तद्विहेपगुणोपलभ्येः ।

The reading मिथः पञ्चानाम् is known to Śankara Miśra, but it is absent from the current text. Perhaps the sūtra पार्थिवं etc. actually existed in the earlier Sotrapāṭha, for it is referred to in the Upaskāra and appears in this MS. It seems to have been removed by the editors, as it is found to be identical with the Nyāya Sūtra 2.1.28.

CHAPTER V.

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 9.—यदायिशेपात् ++

„ 10.—++पतनयिशेषः ।

„ 11.—++पालुक्तम् (?) अयाष्यात्म् ।

„ 13.—प्रयक्षाभासे ++

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 16 — तदना + + + मनसि ।

शरीरस्य सुखदुखाभाव सयोग ।

कायकारणात्मकम् द्यात्यातम् (१) ।

This last one is an additional Sutra, altogether new, but the reading is evidently corrupt

Sūtra 25 — गुणेन + + +

CHAPTER VI

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 1 — + + वेद

5 — + + आत्मानरेष्वकारणलात् ।

, 12 — पतेन समविशिष्ट + + +

„ 14 — This does not appear in the MS

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 8 — अथतस्य + + + विद्यते ।

नियमाभावाच्च ।

विद्यते चाऽयं न्तरत्वमस्य ।

CHAPTER VII

Āhnika (i)

Sūtra 2 — + + + अनित्या ।

15 — + + गुणैर्गुणा + + ।

17 — + हस्तत्वदीर्घत्वे + +

„ 21 — ‘च’ does not occur

Āhnika (ii)

Sūtra 12 — This Sutra is absent from the MS

„ 21 — एकदिक्कालाभ्या + +

„ 22 — कार्यापरत्वात् कारणापरत्वाच्च परत्वापरत्वे ।

Sūtra 23—परत्वापरत्वाभावः etc (The first phrase परत्वापरत्वयोः is lacking in the Ms).

Sūtras 24—25.—These sūtras do not appear in the MS.

CHAPTER VIII.

Āhnika (i).

Sūtra 9.—समवायिनः श्वैत्यात् ।

श्वैत्यशुद्धेष्व श्वेते शुद्धिः ते एते कार्यकारणभूते ।

Āhnika (i).

„ 2—दृष्टे + +

„ 5—भूयस्त्वात् + + च ।

पृथिवी + + + प्रकृतिः ।

CHAPTER IX.

Āhnika (i).

Sūtra 7 — + + त्वात् ।

„ 12—The word प्रत्यक्षं is omitted.

Āhnika (ii).

„ 4—'करणं' is omitted.

„ 10—'संस्कारदोपात्' omitted.

CHAPTER X

Āhnika (ii).

After the 8th and the 9th sūtras occurs: अस्मद्द्युद्धिमयो
लिङ्गमूषेः । This sūtra is also quoted by Śridhara in the
Nyāyakandali, p. 216.

III—HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NYAYA VAISESIKA LITERATURE

By GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

(Continued from Vol V, p 162)

The Deccani School

I—Chennu Bhatta

Chennu Bhatta, the author of a Commentary, perhaps the earliest yet extant, on Tarkabhairavi (तर्कभाषाप्रकाशिका), is known to have been a native of Southern India. From the colophoo of this Commentary* it appears that he was the son of one Sahaja Sarvajna Visnu that he had an elder brother named Sarvajña and that his patron was Maharajī Hariharā, assuredly identical with the famous king Hariharā II of Vijayanagara (1400 A.D.)

This Sarvajna Visnu was perhaps the same scholar whom the younger Ulhava (Siyana's son) mentions as the son of Śāṅgapāni and as his own guru in the beginoing of his Sarvadarśana Samgraha (verse 2) and to whom Siyana refers as the author of Vivaragavivarana in his Sankara Darśana (तदुक्त विघरणविग्रहे सहजसर्वश्चित्तुभट्टोगाद्यायै)†. Whether Sarvajna Visnu was the name which Vidyātirtha, the chief guru (मुख्य गुरु) of Vidyāranya and Siyana, bore

* इति आइरिहमहाराजपत्रिपादितेन सहजसर्वश्चित्तुभट्टोगाद्यायै नुजेन विग्रभट्टेन वित्तिताया सहजसर्वश्चित्तिकार्या प्रमेयादिपत्रित्तेऽसमाप्त । Aufrecht Oxf Catalogue, p 2442.

† See Indian Antiquary 1916, p. 21

before his renunciation of the world is a question to which I am not in a position to offer any decisive reply with the data at present available to me*. But the fact that the invocatory verse—यस्य तिःऽवसितं देवाः &c—found in many of Sāyaṇa's and Vidyāranya's works occurs also in Chennu's Commentary, would appear to indicate that all these three scholars were disciples of one and the same spiritual preceptor, named Vidyātīrtha; and the fact of Sāyaṇa's quoting Sahaja Sarvajñā Viṣṇu by name tends in my opinion against the possibility of identifying him with Vidyātīrtha.

Among the authors quoted in the Tarkabbasā-prakāśikā (e. g. Udayana, Kandaliṅkāra, Maṇḍana Miśra, Vāchaspati Miśra, Varadarāja, Vādīndra and Śālikanātha) Varadaraja may be taken to be the author of Tāktikarakṣā and Vādīndra identical with the teacher of Bhāṭṭa Rāghava.

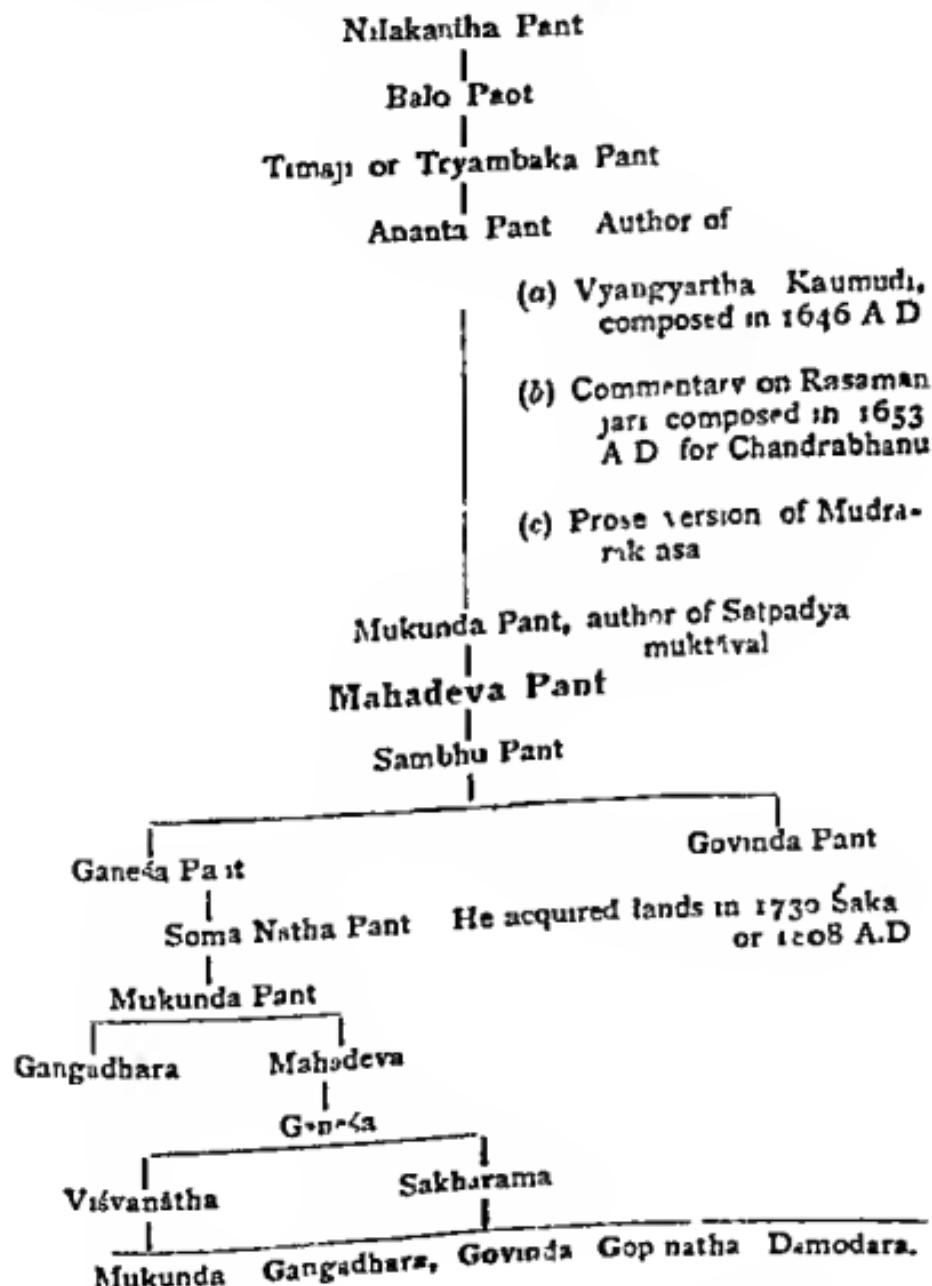
II.—Mahadeva Puntamkar.

The most prominent student of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika philosophy at Benares towards the end of the 17th Century was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, by name Mahadeva, of the Puntamkar family. He had been a pupil of Śrikaojha Dikshita and on his death succeeded him as one of the leading pandits of the city. But the chief little to his place in the history of the literature consists in his successful attempt at rescuing Bhāvinanda's works from the unmerited obloquy into which they had fallen, by subjecting them to a critical analysis and bringing out their real worth.

* Reference may however be made in this connection to the illuminating paper on "Madhavacharya and his younger brothers" by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhabachar in the Indian Antiquary, 1916, pp. 17-24.

Mahadeva was the son of Mukunda*, himself a learned man, being the master of the six systems of recognised

* Here is a genealogical table of Mahadeva's family which I have secured through the good offices of Pandit Mukunda Sastri of Beoares, a descendant of the author



orthodox philosophy (पट्टशाखतत्त्वदर्शिनम्). He was a devotee of Śiva, and like his tutor Śrikanṭha, of the goddess Siddhesvari*.

Mahādeva's time is known for certain. Among MSS himself for his own use—and the number of such MSS is a legion—I have found dates ranging from Samvat 1727 (= 1670 A. D.) to Samvat 1753 (= 1696 A. D.). I place Mahādeva therefore in the second half of the 17th century.

From an entry in one of his MSS it appears that Mahādeva once went to Nadia on tour either in search of MSS or on invitation to attend some meeting of the pandits. He was in close touch with the scholars of Bengal whose learning he deeply appreciated.

His own works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Bhavānanda's

i. Dīdhūtiṇḍhārtha-prakāśika (=भवानन्दीप्रकाश)

This book was intended to defend Bhavānanda

* The goddess Siddhesvari whose temple is in the city in the quarter known after her name is an old deity of Benares, of whom mention is found in the Kāsi Khanda. It has been regularly worshipped by the family of the Maunins for the last 7 or 8 generations. The image is now mutilated. Long ago it was proposed to replace it by a new image and so an image was made and arrangements were made to set it up with due ceremony for worship. But it is said that the goddess appeared in a vision and forbade such a procedure. The old image continued to be worshipped as usual. The new one is now to be found outside in a corner on the verandah. The following dhyāna will serve as a good description of the goddess :

स्त्रैयन्तरी महार्सिंद आद्यन्तरी च मादिपम् ।

परं परमं पारमन्तरी पारमन्तरी चग्राम् ॥

from the attacks of the Bengali pandits to which he had been exposed*.

ii. Didhītigudhārtha-prakāśikā (=सर्वोपकारिणी).†
Both these are commentaries on one and the same work, one a big and the other a short one. Mahadeva himself states in the beginning of his Sarvopakāśinī that he wrote two distinct commentaries on the Bhavanandi, of which one, being overlaid with technical minutiae was intended for the critical student of philosophy, while the other was to serve for the beginner as a general introduction to the subject †

(b) Laugākṣi Bhāskara's
i. Padarthaprakāśa

B (a) न्यायकौस्तुभ् It is an original treatise dealing with the main topics of Nyāya, containing as the author says an essence of the whole philosophy.

(b) Iṣvaravāda

(c) Navyānumitiparamarsayoh Karyakṛtanabhāva
vichāra

(d) Saṃśyavāda

* अनालंज्य सिद्धात् दागीतशास्त्रम् । दृष्टा सप्तिं । परित्तमाद्यातः ।
यदुभ्मादिन दूषणामासहृद्द तदुदलाय मनोधात् पद् ॥

(Beginning of Bhavanandi prakāśa)

Towards the close of the Sarvopakāśinī Mahadeva calls the *Prakāśa* and the *Aṇustubha* his two sons, and the *Sarvopakāśinī* his daughter, begotten by his spiritual wife *Buddhi*. प्रकाश-
कौस्तुभौ पुत्रावात्मग्रामुपकालिम् । तुदित्तम्पानामीकिस्यां महादेवो धमानयत् ॥

† भवानन्दोपकाशन्तु विष्णुं रचिते मया ।
अतः इष्टेषत कुर्वे उग्राद्या लक्ष्मीरागाद् ॥

III *Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha*

Among Saṇyāsins there must be a very few in number who would feel inclined to give their time and energies to the task of elucidating the dualistic doctrines of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika. Any work, supposed to aim a blow at the Vedantic position, would be simply revolting in their eyes. Far from encouraging such a work by writing commentaries upon it, they would not tolerate its existence. But Bhikṣu Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha was a notable exception to this rule. Not only was he passively tolerant, with catholic indifference to all which did not concern him, but he wrote commentaries on three of the most popular and standard Nyāya works —

(a) Udayana's

i Kusumanjali Kārikās

There is an incomplete MS of this commentary in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, where in the colophoo at the end of Stavaka 3 the author is called परमहस परिवाजकाचार्य (Fol 186)

(b) Raghunatha's

i Tattvacintāmanididhi

(c) Viśvanatha's

i Bhāṣāparicchcheda (न्यायचन्द्रिका)

Nārāyaṇa says in his Sāṅkhyā Chāndrikā * that he was

* See verse 1 at the beginning

श्रीरामगोविन्द उत्तरपाद दृष्टविदेपादुपज्ञातपोधम् ।

श्रीवादेवादपिगत्य सप्तशताब्दिं वर्तु किमपि सृष्टा नः ॥

Cf also his Vedāntavibhāvanā with (Sāṅkhyā Chāndrikā, Ben Sk Series, No 9, p 1) Commentary and Bhakti Chāndrikā (Mss belonging to Government Sanskrit Library, Benares)

the pupil of Vāsudeva Tīrtha and disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. And he seems to have been the teacher of the famous Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, usually called by the name of Gaṇḍa Brahmānanda (to distinguish him from another Brahmānanda who commented on the Paribhāṣendu Śekham) author of a series of very learned Vedantic works, including Commentaries on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's (a) Advaita Siddhi and (b) Siddhautatātvabindu. This is apparent from Brahmānanda's own confession in the above commentaries *.

Nārāyaṇa's age is not known for certain. The only thing that can be said is that he was later than the middle of the 17th Century, the time of Viśvanātha, on whose work he commented.

He must be earlier than 1701 A. D. (1758 Sam), the date of a MS of Muktavali-prakāsa by Dīnakara, belonging originally to his private collection and now deposited in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares

* Thus in his

(a) Laghu Chandrikā, com on the Advaita Siddhi :

i. श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां गुह्यां चण्णस्तुतिः ।
भूयान् मे साधितेष्टानामनिटानाऽच्यु धारिका ॥
Intro Verse 2 Advaita Mañjari Ed., p. 1.

ii. श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां पट्टालोपारमीयुपाम् ।
चरणी दशगोदृत्य सीर्णः सारम्बन्धार्थः ॥
Concluding Verse 2, Advaita Mañjari Ed., p. 643.

(b) Nyāyaratnāvali.—Com. on the Siddhāntabindu.

i. श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां गुह्यां चरणास्तुतम् ।
नमामि वाह्मनः कार्त्तरव्यतामैः मदा ॥
Concluding Verse 1, Advaita Mañjari Ed. p. 312.

IV.—*Konda Bhatta*

Konda Bhaṭṭa, son of Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa and nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, is better remembered for his works on Grammar, especially for his *Vaiyākaraṇa Śiḍhāntabhoṣaṇa*^{*}, than for any treatises on philosophy, pure and simple. He was in a family of famous grammarians of Benares. His uncle Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣhita†, the author of *Siddhāntakaumudi*, *Śabdakaustubba*, *Manorāma*, &c was a grammarian of the highest order, (besides being an authority in *Smṛti* and *Vedānta*) whose works in this branch of literature are still amoog the nohlest in the field. His father Raṅgoji, however, does not seem to have been a grammarian at all. He was a Vedāntist, being the author of two interesting works on the subject, viz. *Advaitachintāmani* and *Advaitasāstra-sāroddhāra*.

To Nyāya Vaisesika Literature Konda Bhaṭṭa seldom devoted his labours. We know however of three works

* It is said in extenuation of the many defects of this work that it was composed by the author at the early age of 22 and was not subsequently revised.

† It appears that Bhaṭṭoji became a dīkṣita, probably the first dīkṣita in the family, by initiating himself into the mysteries of the agnihotra ceremony and that his descendants (e.g. his son Bhānu dīkṣita and grandson of Hari dīkṣita) inherited the title as a matter of pure legacy. His brother Raṅgoji or his nephew Konda are not known by that title. The name Raṅgoji Dikṣita, as used in Dr. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar" seems therefore to be a slip.

‡ Cf Aufrecht, Cat. Cat., I. p. 489 Both these works exist in the Library of Panit Mukunda Sāstrī. The former has been published in the Government Sanskrit Library Series, Benares. The second work is incomplete, being confined to one chapter only.

coming from his pen as contributive to this philosophy All these are of an elementary character and obviously intended for beginners

B (a) तर्कप्रदीप

A MS of this exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. It was written at the instance of Rajvirabbadra*, and contains the following references चार्वाका 3b⁸ पेदान्तिन 4b¹² मीमांसका 6b⁹ चिन्तामणिकार 8b⁷ आचार्या 9c⁴ लीलावतीश्वर 11b⁶ उद्यनाचार्य 11b⁵ प्राच्या 11a³, 12c⁴ "अस्तपितृचरणा" 26¹ अठेतचिन्तामणि (by his father) 26b⁷, 13 and वैयाकरणभूषण (his own work) 26c¹,

(b) पदार्थदीपिका This is published in the Benares Sanskrit Series and requires no notice to be taken in this place

(c) तर्करदा † This is referred to in (b)

F—Krishna Bhatta Article

He was a resident of Benares, being the son of Ranga natha and Karmalit pupil of Hari and younger brother of Narayana Bhatta. He is known for the following works

* Cf Hall p 79

† Cf Hall p 78

: I examined a MS of Krsha Bhatta's Chitrangatgīdhara (fol. 26 unknown to Aufrecht) in Gopuladasa's private Collection. In the 3rd introductory verse of the work the author speaks of his parents whom he names Rānganatha (not Rāgtunatha as in Aufrecht Cat Cat I p 11b) and Karmalit already dead as in Aufrecht Cat Cat I p 11b. सन्तोऽनेत इविज्ञानी माता मीढा विनाश्य (fol 11). Cf also Ind Office Cat p 618.

A Commentaries on

(a) Jagadīśa's

1. Commentary on Chintāmaṇidīḍhiti (=जगदीशतोषपिण्डी or मञ्जूषा).

and (b) Gadādhara's

1. Commentary on Chintāmaṇidīḍhiti (=काशिका)

and ii. Śaktivāda

VI—*Madhava Deva*

Madbava Deva was the son of Lakṣmāṇa Deva and grandson of Mādhava Deva of Dhārā-Ārapura* on the bank of the Godāvarī. He was himself a man of Benares where he had been living for a long time past. From the introductory verses of the Tarkabhbāśasācāmaṇjati it appears that he read with his own father Lakṣmāṇa. His works, only two in number within our present knowledge, were written at Benares and held in high esteem among the local Pandits ("काशी परिष्वत् मण्डलीयु विलसन्")

His works are

A Commentary on

(a) Keśava Miśra's

1. Taikalbāsa (तर्कभासासारमधुरी or तर्क-प्रकाश), where the following are referred to, गौरीकान्त fol. 7a⁵, 13b⁵, 15a⁷, 18⁷, 20a³, 23a², 24a⁷ 34b⁶, 38a⁶, 43b⁴, 44b⁷'s 46b¹³, 46b⁸ 49a⁷, गोचर्णग्रभृतय—fol 45a⁸, गोचर्ण fol. 34b⁶, 38b⁶, 43b³,

* Not Dhārā, or modern Dhar, as supposed by Mr A. V. Kathavate in his Report (1891-95) p. 15. Dhārā is a town in Central India, whereas Dharasurapura is farther South, in the Deccan, on the bank of the Godāvarī.

४५a¹², गोवर्जनश्चलभद्रौ fol 16a⁶, प्राचीनाः -
 fols 11h¹, 30h⁵⁰⁸, 45h⁸, भणिकृत् 48b¹⁰;
 दीयिति 45a⁴, 46a¹, पणिडतमन्य 50b^{5*}
 and रुद्रभट्टाचार्य ।

Of the earlier commentators Gaurikanta has been most severely treated

(b) Raghunātha's

1 Tattvachintāmanidīdhiti. A part of this work, dealing with the import of the particle एव was known to Hultzsch, No 1418, II, p 133

(b) Rāmachandra's

1 Commentary on Gunakiranavali, known as Gunarhasya ("गुणरहस्यप्रकाश") as in Hall, p 67 or गुणसारमञ्जरी as in Mitra, 1453)

B

(a) न्यायसार This is the earlier work of Mādhaba (mentioned in Tarabhusisāramanījari on fols 29⁴, 44a¹¹, 50a¹⁰) and merits appreciation. It was written at Tripurantajanagara, or Benares. From the fact that Mādhaba names Rudra Bhattacharya and Bhattoji Diksita he could not have lived earlier than the middle of the 17th century, and the existence of a copy of Nyāyasāra in the India Office Library, transcribed in Sam 1767 (1710 A D) furnishes the posterior limit of his age. In all probability therefore he belonged to the latter part of the 17th century.

* The folios refer to the MS, not yet numbered, which has just been acquired for the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

VII — *Dharmaraja Adharaendra*

As the author of *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* Dharmaraja's reputation stands high among modern students of philosophy, his Nyāya works have been forgotten and are now generally unknown. But it was for these works that he seems to have been remembered in his life time.

He was an inhabitant of the village of Kandaramāṇikya and was the son of one *Tivedinīrīyāga Yajvan* of the Kaundinya family.* He is known to have been the pupil of Pandit Verkatanatha of Velangudi, a village which Mr Burnell † locates in the Kumhakonam Taluk of the Tanjore District. Dharmaraja mentions his Paramaguru's name to be Nṛsimha Yati who may be tentatively identified with the author of *Bhedadhikāra* (1547 A.D.). Rāma kṛṣṇa, Dharmaraja's son, refers to Nṛsimha in his *Sikhimani*. The time of Dharmaraja falls therefore somewhere about the middle of the 17th Century.

In the introductory verses of the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* Dharmaraja speaks of his two Nyāya treatises, both commentaries, named below.

A —(a) On *Sasadhara* *

1. *Nyāyasiddhānta dīpāḥ* (न्यायसिद्धांत दीपाः) a copy of this

* Burnell Tanjore Catalogue p 115 b

† Ib d p 90 ‡ But Mahāmahopadhvaya Krishnāntha Nyāyapanchanana in his commentary on the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* (pp 34) speaks of Velangudi to be a village on the bank of the Narmada. I leave the point open for discussion by men more competent to deal with questions of South Indian biography.

‡ दीका दारायरस्यापि वालव्युत्पत्तिदायिनो । This along with the one following (पद्याजनया पद्यादिका व्याङ्गता मया), does not occur in the current texts. The latter commentary is called पद्यादिका (see Hultzsch, No 1152).

work exists in the Taojore collection (vide Burnell, p 119 b)

and (b) On Gangesa's

1 Tattvachintamani (तत्त्वचिन्तामणि), where he claims to have overthrown the views of ten previous commentaries. This seems however to be an idle vaunt*

VIII—Ramakṛṣṇa ādhaarīn

Dharmaṛaja's son Rāmakṛṣṇa was the author of a Commentary, known as न्यायशिलामणि, on Ruchidatta's Tattvachintamani-prakāśat. This is the only work on Nyaya from Rāmakṛṣṇa's pen. From his commentary (चेदान्तशिलामणि) on his father's Vedantaparibhasa it appears that Rāmakṛṣṇa was highly proficient in the New Logic of Eastern India and that his training was more on the line of a controversy than on pure Upaniṣhaic lore‡

* There is a commentary of this name on the Tattvachintamani-prakāśa. Cf "A triennial Catalogue of M's" by Rangacharya Kuppu Svami Śisṭi, Vol I p. 79 (R No 78)

† Burnell, p 115 b

‡ He also wrote a commentary on Sadiṇādīśa's Vedanta-sāra

IV.—AN ATTEMPT TO ARRIVE AT THE
CORRECT MEANING OF SOME
OBSCURE VEDIC WORDS
BY SITARAM JOSHI

1. दोपाधस्तर् (दोपाधस्तः)

R V I. 1.7.

This word is found in the Rgveda only thrice, once here and again in each of the stanzas at R. V IV 49², and VII 15 15³. It bears the same vocative accent in all the three places, and, obviously, is used in the same sense. It is a compound formed from the root 'vas' to dwell or to wear, as Indian scholars take it (वस् निवासं आच्छादने च) or from 'vas' to shine as the western scholars would have it (see Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students and Monier William's Lexicon), by adding to it the verbal (कृत) termination तुच् or तु, denoting an agent, and having for its prefix (उपपद) the word दोपा. So the form 'दोपाधस्त्' is a vocative having the Udātta accent on its first syllable. Its meaning according to Indian scholars would be 'one who dwells at night, or one who wears or covers the night', (रात्रेण निवसनशालं रात्रेरात्मादयितर्या) Sayana and the Western scholars^{*} would take it as 'one shining in the darkness'

Sayana takes it as a copulative compound (द्वन्द्वसमाप्त) of two words 'dōjī' and 'vastar'. He says that the word 'dōjī' stands for night (दोपाधस्ते रात्रिधात्री) and 'vastar'

* See S. B. E Series, Vol. XLVI, p. 4.

† Sayana's Commentary on Rgveda I. 1.7

for a day (दस्त इत्यद्वार्चो) Sayana seems to regard this compound word similar in form to the two words 'dōṣā' and 'vastoli' (दोषावस्तो *), which are frequently used in the Rgveda, not as a compound as the Pada text will show but separately though simultaneously, 'doṣā' standing for night and 'vastoli' for day

For the accent of the word 'दोषावस्तर्' Sayana maintains it by applying to it Pāṇini's Sutra "कार्तकीजपादयश्च This Sutra says that the 'Kārtakaujapadi' is a collection of words (गण) beginning with the compound word 'Kartakaujapa (कार्तकीजप)', and whenever they are used as a copulative compound (द्वन्द्वसमास) their first word assumes its natural accent (पपा द्वन्द्व पूर्वपद प्रस्ताया)† As Sayana takes this word 'दोषेवस्तर्' as a copulative compound, its first word 'dōṣā' must have its natural accent on the second syllable, which is not to be found here. Here the accent is on the first, which fact clearly indicates that the form, दोषेवस्तर् is a vocative‡. This is one of the many slips in Sayana's commentary on the Rigveda.

In Rg V VII 15 15 we find his interpretation of the word as रात्रेऽच्छादयितर्. The reason for this is quite clear. In VII 15 15 we come across the word दिवानत्तम् after 'दोषावस्तर्'. How could he possibly translate both the words to mean the same thing? To avoid this tautology, he was obliged to take 'vas' meaning आच्छादन. The question arises—how could Sayana not make out his own mistake in the two previous passages? He must have held the firm

* Vide R V I 104 १, १७९ १ V ३२ ११ VI ५ २, ३९ ३, VII १६, VIII २ ५ २१, λ ४० ४

† See S K 377 Sutra

‡ Pāṇini VI १ १९३ आमः प्रत्ययतः

opinion that there is hardly any difference between 'घस्तोः' and 'घस्तर्' or he must have mistaken one word for the other. But it is not likely that he would identify घस्त् and घस्ते. In the passages occurring in the first and fourth Mandalas, though there are words like दिये दिये and अभिधून्, they will not lead to absurdity if 'दोपाघस्तर्' be translated or interpreted as 'night and day'. They would mean 'every day to the morning and in the evening' as some of the Western scholars have tried to point out in order to defend Sayana. I admit this situation but I hold that if the Vedic poets really intended that meaning for 'दोपाघस्तर्', they would not have in any case used it, as we see it in VII 15 15 with its synonym दियानतम्, thus giving rise to mere tautology. This single instance is quite sufficient to point out that the Vedic poets never intended that meaning for the word.

Moreover there are other reasons to show that 'दोपा घस्तर्' will never mean 'day and night or vice versa'.

Firstly, Sayana's statement that 'astar stands for 'a day' lacks support. We never come across such an independent word as 'घस्तर्' standing for 'a day' in the whole of the Rgveda. Secondly, instead of 'घस्तर्' we always meet with 'घस्तोः' which means 'a day' and which is used side by side with दोपा, and sometimes independently also. The Nighantu tells us that the word for 'a day' is 'घस्तोः' and not 'घस्तर्'. Thirdly, we do not even find the two words दोपा and घस्तो used in a compound though they stand side by side because Padapātha separates them. We once meet with the sing. of घस्तर् i.e. घस्ता in R V III 49 4, which is used with the genitive plural दूषा as दूषा घस्तर्, clearly indicating that the termination added to घस् is a verbal one (एष) and is subjective (कर्ति) and according to Panini II 2 15,

the compound of the two words is impossible. In case of 'दोपावस्तर्' the word 'दोपा' being indeclinable, Panini's rule is not violated. Besides, the Vedic words are not bound by Panini's rules as the famous saying lays down—
 छन्दसि दृष्टानुयिधि So the instance of क्षपा वस्ता goes to confirm our statement that 'वस्तर्' is formed from the root 'वस' by the addition of त्.

The two words 'दोपा' and 'वस्ता' are always used separately as we have pointed out above, often with, and sometimes without, the intervention of any word or words. Each of them is used independently also without being accompanied by the other. Once the word 'दोपा' is found in plural as दोपा in R V I 179 1, there is found also the repetition (योष्टा) of the word 'वस्तो' as a compound of 'वस्तो' and वस्तो in R V X 60 103 but no such use is found of 'वस्तर्'.

We may call here other commentators for the support of our statement. This very stanza of Rgveda I 17, occurs in Vyasa's Sambhita fil 22 where Uvata and Mahabharat, the well known Commentators of that text, interpret the word दोपावस्तर् हे 'दोपावस्तर् दोपेति रात्रिनाम । उत निशसे) रात्रा वस्तवशीलो दोपावस्ता तस्य सम्बोधन हे दोपावस्तर्, i.e. the word दोपावस्तर् is a vocative 'dosa' is a name of night and the root 'वस' is to dwell one who is situated to dwell at night is 'dwaster' and the same addressee is दोपावस्तर्. Uvata, for the support of his statement calls in sacerdotal tradition as "शर्मनौ ह दोपेता" इति यदनेनेति द्वासेनेऽन्यते तद्य मद्वा इष्टाद दायवस्तरिति. This legend shows that there is no necessity of conjecturing the meaning of 'sluning' for the root 'वस' where we can do very well with the usual

meaning of 'dwelling' Mahidhara also says the same thing by adding to it "देवा रात्रिस्त्वयामपि यस्ति अजस्यं धार्य-
माणत्वान् तोपश्चाम्यतीति देवावस्त्रै"

Oldenberg has very well pointed out that the authors of Āśvalayana Śrauta Sūtra and Sāṅkhayana Gṛhya Sūtra* use this word clearly as a vocative Āśvalayana, while addressing Agni, uses this epithet and instructs how to address him in the morning and in the evening. He says यदि सायं देवावस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति । यदि प्रात् प्रातर्वस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति । A. S S III 124. Oldenberg, in his comment on this word in S B E XLVI, p 4, admits that he takes the word as a vocative, but does not feel sure of his position. Let us quote the note here fully 'I have translated 'dñśavastar' as a vocative, which, as is rendered very probable by the accent, was also the opinion of the diakritists of the Samhitā text. The author of the sacrificial formula which is given in Āśval Śrau III 124 and Sankh Gṛh V 54 evidently understood the word in the same way, there Agni is invoked as 'Dñśavastar' and as 'Pratirvastar' as shining in the darkness of evening and as shining in the morning. That this may indeed be the true meaning of the word is shown by Rgveda III 49 4 where Indra is called 'Kṣapām Vastā' the illuminator of nights (Kṣapām is gen plur, not sing as Bartholomae Bezzanbergs Beitrage XV, 203 takes it) The very frequent passages, however, in which case forms of *do* & stand in opposition to words meaning 'dawn' or 'morning'—which words in most cases are derived from the root 'ras', strongly favour the opinion of Gaedike (Der Accusativ in Veda. 177, note 3) and L. F. Johansson (Bezzanbergen's Beitrage XIV 163) who give to *dñśavastar* the meaning 'in the darkness and in the morning'

This translation very well suits all *Rgveda* passages in which the word occurs. If this opinion is accepted, *dōṣavastar* very probably ought to be written and accented as two independent words, *dōṣa* *vastar*. See M. Müller, Physical Religion, p 173 etc.

We have already shown the absurdity of his statement in the underlined passages as the accent would not allow us to do so, moreover in RV VII 15 15 there is clear repetition and the word 'vastar' is never used independently for 'a day'.

Griffith translates this word 'dōṣavastar' as a dispeller of night. He does not seem to prefer this meaning of 'shining' or his own meaning 'dispeller of night' in the rest of the two passages. There he renders them by 'eve and morning'. So in VII 15 15 he is obliged to translate the word 'दिवानक्षम्' by 'day and night'. The word 'dōṣa' may mean 'the eve' but the word 'पस्तोः' does not and 'पस्त्र' never means 'the morning'. Moreover the accent is to be ignored. Even then there is hardly any difference in meaning between 'morn and eve' and 'day and night', so use both of which will mean 'pure tautology'.

Pāṇini's Dhīrūpāśha does not give the meaning 'to shine' for 'vas'. It gives only two meanings 'पस्', पाच्यादने and 'पस्' नियासे; Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar for Students enlists this root meaning 'to shine', the forms of which are very similar to those of 'रच्यति नियास' As the Indian Scholars were never aware of this meaning they have always taken 'vas' as meaning 'to wear' or 'to dwell' as we have shown above.

V—A COMPARISON OF THE CONTENTS OF THE RG VEDA-, VAJASANEYI-,
 TAITTIRIYA-, AND ATHARVAVEDA-(CATURADHYAYIKA)
 PRATISAKHYAS.

By MANOAL DEVA SHASTRI,

Composed from p. 114 of Vol. V.)

7 Faults in pronunciation.

	Rg. Prst. XIV. 1	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prst.	Ath. Prst.
General nature of faults in pronunciation			...	"
Faults in the pronunciation of sounds in general*	XIV. 2—9	Cp 1.26	Cp XVII. 8	"
Faults in the pronunciation of vowels in general†	XIV 10, 11, 51, 56		...	"

* निरस्त, व्याप्त, पीडन, अमरुत, गृह, सदट, विद्विट, पक्ष, अदुग्धिक ।

† अप्यथामाद्रचन, संहेय, छ्यास, पीडन, निरास, अन्यवर्णना, राग ।

	Rg Prāt.	Vñj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
Suppression or addition of a short vowel	XIV. 40	...	...	...
Separation of a conjunct consonant by a vowel, or <i>anaptyxis</i> (see <i>ñllo</i> conjunct consonants)	XIV 19	...	...	...
Fault in the pronunciation of <i>a, ñ</i>	XIV. 12	...	...	...
Fault in the pronunciation of <i>r</i>	XIV. 45	...	...	...
" " " of <i>r, r</i> ...	" 48	...	...	...
" " " of <i>r, l</i> ...	" 46	...	...	...
<i>Ally</i> pronounced as <i>ally</i> or vice versa	" 41, 42	...	...	...

<i>As</i> pronounced as <i>ayi</i> or vice versa	... ...	" 43, 44	... ...	... ...
Faults in the pronunciation of consonants in general*	... ...	XIV. 15—17, 55	... ...	... ...
initial sonant consonants	... ...	" 18	... ...	... ...
initial aspirates	.. ..	" 19	... ...	... ...
the first four <i>vargas</i>	.. ..	XIV. 21	... ...	... ...
the first <i>varga</i>	.. ..	" 22	.	... ...
the second and third <i>vargas</i> ...	.. ..	" 21	.	... ...
the fourth <i>varga</i>	... ..	" 23, 25	... ...	... ...
voiceless dentals	... ..	" 39	... ...	... ...
a semi-vowel	.. ..	" 50	... ...	... ...

* जोड़े से वचन, अन्योन्यन विराग, लेंगन वचन, पीड़न, परस्त।

	Rg. Prāt.	Vāj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
a group of sounds containing a semivowel	" 14 " 24, 26 " 27 " 48 " 43)	... ... ... ... ...	... ... ... ... ...
r	" 24, 26 " 27 " 48 " 43) XVI. 47	...............	...............
l	" 27 " 48 " 43) XVI. 47 (Cp. also 41, 44)	... ... ... ... ...	... ... ... ... ...
Suppression of y or v	(Cp. also 42, 43) XVI. 47 (Cp. also 41, 44)	... ... ... ... ...	... ... ... ... ...
Addition of y	XVI. 52 XVI. 52	...............	...............
insertion of a breathing	XVI. 52 XVI. 52	...............	...............
avults in the pronunciation of initial breathings	" 19 " 20, 29	...............	...............
voiceless* breathings	" 20, 29

* Cp. Uṇṭī.

<i>h</i>	" 28, 35, 36, 57
Visarjanlya	" 30—33, 36	...	But cp. II. 48		
				(Cp. Muller)				
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Lengthening of a short nasal vowel	"	51
<i>Finals</i> in the pronunciation of enjunct consonants	.	XIV. 49, 58 (Cp. also 11 16, 44 36, 12, 48, 52, 53, 55, 57)		Cp. IV. 162, 163	But cp. II. 38, 39	

	Rg. Prat.	Vñj. Prat.	Taitt. Prat.	Ath. Prat.
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§. General:

	Rg. Prāt.	Vñj. Prāt.	Taitt. Prāt.	Ath. Prāt.
4 Certain objections against the teaching of phonetics and their refutation	XIV. 68, 69

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the part following the r receives
the nasal quality ...
The sound preceding an aspirate
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Cp. VI. 2,
XII. 9

IV. 108

...
XIV. 5

I. 94

I. 71

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Combination of final <i>a</i> , <i>ə</i> with initial vowels (<i>i</i> , <i>ī</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>ū</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>ai</i> , <i>o</i> , <i>au</i> ...)	II. 16,19	IV. 52,53,56	X. 3,7	III. 44-45, 50,51 .
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Irregular combination of final <i>a</i> , <i>ə</i> with initial <i>i</i> into <i>ai</i> , with initial <i>ə</i> into <i>au</i> , with initial <i>o</i> into <i>e</i> , or with initial <i>e</i> into <i>e</i>	II. 71,73	IV. 64,65,67	Op. X. 14	III. 52

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(To be continued)

VI.—AN INDEX TO THE RĀMĀYĀNA.

(Continued from Vol VI.)

BY MANMATHA NATH RAY.

GAVAYA—The Vānara chief who partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrīva (IV. 26 35) Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly furnished house in Kiskindhā (IV. 33.9). काञ्जनशीलाभ.
मद्वयोर्युः: Supplied Sugrīva with 5 kros of Vānaras (IV. 39. 23). Sugrīva wanted to send him to the South in search of Sītā (IV. 41 3). Having ran-sacked the Vindhyaś, entered the Rkṣa cave along with Hanumān in search of water (IV 50. 1—8). Appointed leader of the expeditionary force by Rāma (VI. 4. 15). तेजस्थी धलदप्तिः (VI 26 44). Fought at the south gate under Angada (VI. 41. 39—40) Ran about here and there defending the army (VI 42 31). Attacked Rāvaya with huge stones but disabled (VI. 59. 42—43). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73 59) On the occasion of Rāma's coronation fetched water from the Western seas (VI. 128 55). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII 36 48)

GAVAKṢA—The Vānara Chief who partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrīva (IV. 26 35). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly furnished house in Kiskindhā (IV 33. 9).
भौमपत्राक्षमः: In response to Lord of the Go-lāngulas Sugrīva's call supplied 1000 kroses of Vānaras (IV. 39. 19). Sugrīva wanted to send him to the South in search of Sītā (IV. 41. 3). Having ran sacked the Vindhyaś, entered the Rkṣa cave in search of water (IV 50 1—8). In reply to Angada's appeal told that he could jump 20 Yojanas (IV. 65. 3). Appointed leader of the expeditionary force to the south by Rāma (VI. 4. 15). The lord of the चित्सुधा: मद्वयला: गोलांगुलाः (VI. 27. 32—33). Fought

at the south gate under Ahgada (VI. 41. 39—40). मदाकायः भीमदर्शनः गोलांगुलः मदायीयः Stood beside Rāma with his soldiers (VI. 42. 28). Ran about here and there defending the army (VI. 42. 31). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 46. 20). Carefully guarded the Vanara army (VI. 47. 2—4). Attacked Rāvana with a huge stone but disabled (VI. 59. 42—43). Guarded the gates carefully at the desire of Rāma (VI. 61. 37). Attacked Kumbhakarna but was wounded (VI. 67. 24—28). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 59). Wounded by Mahāpārsva (VI. 98. 11). Created by the gods 'to help Rāma (VII. 36. 48). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39. 21).

GADHI—Born after the celebration of the Putresī Sacrifice (I. 34. 5) परमधारिकः Father of Viśvāmitra (I. 34. 6) and Satyavati (I. 34. 7). Son of Kuśanābha (I. 51. 19). Admitted the supremacy of Rāvana (VII. 19. 5).

GĀNDHĀRA—The Land of the Gandharvas. Conquered by Bharata on behalf of his sons (VII. 101. 11).

GĀYATRĪ—Her temple at Agastya's hermitage visited by Rāma (III. 12. 20). Accompanied Rāma on the occasion of his Great Renunciation (VII. 109. 8).

GĀRGYA—A great Ṛṣi of the east who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1. 2). Preceptor of Rājā Yudhajit of Kekaya: son of Angirasa ग्रहायिः अमितप्रसः: Came to Ayodhyā with rich presents to deliver a message from Rāma's uncle and was respectfully received by Rāma (VII. 100. 1—5). In compliance with the request of Rāma (VII. 100. 6—8) delivered the message of Yudhajit, viz. he should annex the country watered by the Sindhu which was then being ruled by the Gandharvas (VII. 100. 8—13). Led the van of Bharata's army (VII. 100. 20).

GĀLAVA—A great R̄si of the east who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII 1 2) Established peace between Rāvana and Māndhīta by acting as the mediator (VII 23 (c) 55—56)

GRĀMANI—A Gandharva Chief who dwelt in the sandal forests of the R̄vabha Hills सूयसमप्रम रवितामानिग्नुः (IV 41 4²—43) विश्वावसुसमत्रभः Married his daughter Devavati to Sukeśa धर्मतिमा (VII 5 1—3)

GIRIVRAJA (i)—पुरद्वयः A town founded by Vasu, the son of Kuśa, also called Vasumatī after the name of the founder Surrounded by the five hills through which flows the Sona, also known as the Sumagadhi (I 32 8 9)

GIRIVRAJA (ii)—Vasiṣṭha's messengers arrived at that town [Probably the chief town of Kekaya] (II 68 21 22)

GUHA—The lord of the Niḍadas whom Rāma met at Śringaverapura during his exile He accompanied the Princes as far as Citrakūṭa (I 1 30) His meeting with Rāma foreseen by Valmiki (I 3 14)

यलगान्, रामस्यात्मसम सदा, also known as स्यपति (II 50 33) Went to receive Rama on foot with his relatives and officers (II 50 34) Embraced Rāma with suitable words and offered food etc (II 50 36 39) Asked his men to offer fodder and water to Rama's horses (II 50 47) Talked away the whole night with Lakṣmana and Sumantra (II 50 50) Asked Lakṣmana to go to sleep and offered to watch Rāma with his men (II 51 2 7) Shed tears when Lakṣmana recited his own and his brother's sorrows (II 51 27) Lakṣmana having communicated Rāma's desire to cross the Gaṅga asked his men to get ready a boat (II 52 4 6) When the boat arrived he informed Rāma about it and asked him to board it without delay (II. 52 7-9)

Requested by Rāma fetched some milk of the banyan tree
 (II 52 68) Asked his men to mind their business when
 Rāma etc had taken their seats on the boat (II 52 77)
 Talked with Sumantra for a long time after Rāma had crossed
 the Gārga (II 57 1) Dismissed Sumantra (II 57 3) Ruled
 over Śringaverapura etc after (II 83 20) Seeing the huge
 army of Bharata suspected his intentions towards Rāma
 so commanded his men to guard carefully the ford and
 advised his men to allow a safe passage to Bharata
 only if his intentions were good (II 84 1 9) Approached
 Bharata with presents (II 84 10) Being admitted into
 the presence of Bharata offered to entertain his army
 for the night (II 84 15 18) Offered to accompany
 him to Rāma's place but questioned his intentions with
 regard to Rāma (II 85 6 7) Praised Bharata for the
 nobility of his heart (II 85 11 13) Consoled Bharata
 who he was overtaken with grief (II 85 22) Admired
 Lakṣmana's devotion to Rāma and in support of his point
 related the fact that Lakṣmana though requested by him
 did not go to sleep for Rāma was lying on a bed of straws
 and then related how they had departed for the forests under
 his very eyes (II 86 1 25) Pained to find Bharata lying
 unconscious (II 87 4) In reply to Bharata's enquiries
 showed him the bed where Rāma lay and narrated the
 services of Lakṣmana (II 87 14 24) Next morning saw
 Bharata and enquired if he had slept well (II 89 4 5)
 Directed by Bharata asked his kinsmen to collect boats in
 which the army might cross the river (II 89 8 9)
 Himself brought out a Svastika boat (II 89 12)
 Engaged by Bharata to locate the dwelling place of
 Rāma (II 98 4) Followed Bharata on foot to see Rāma
 (It 98 18) Embraced by Rāma and Lakṣmana (II 99 41)
 निपादाधिष्ठिति (VI 125 4) स रामस्य आत्मसम सखा

(VI 125 5) At the desire of Rama, Hanuman informed him of the safe arrival of his intimate friend (VI 125 22 24)

GUHYAKAS, The—A class of demi Gods attending on Kuvera Played with Kuvera on the banks of the tank on the Kailasa hills (IV 43 23) Went into raptures when Rama killed Kumbhakarna (VI 67 172) Came to witness the duel between Ati Kaya and Laksmana (VI 71 65) Accompanied Brahman to propitiate Vayu (VII 35 64)

GOKARNA—Where Bhagiratha retired to practise austenities (I 42 12) Kesari left the Malyavan for—(V 35 80) Ravana and his brothers practised austenities there (VII 9 47)

GODĀVARI, The—Flowed by the Panca Vāsi (III 13 18) रम्या पञ्चिती पदाशोभिता (III 15 11) पुर्वपते तदभिनृता (III 15 12) हसकारणडवाकीर्णं चक्रवाकापशोभिता, मृगयूथनि पीडिता (III 15 13) Rama etc in exile set up their abode in the proximity of—(III 15 11 13) Bathed there daily (III 16 2) शोधस्थोता The rapidity of her flow slowed down on the appearance of Ravana (III 45 7 8) हससारस सहुषा (III 49 31) सरिता चरिषा (III 63 13) तार्धवनी (III 64 3) After the abduction of Sita Rama inquired if she knew the whereabouts of Sita but for fear of Ravana held her peace (III 64 6 11) रम्या Sugriva asked Angada to go there in search of Sita (IV 41 9) Rama's car passed across—(VI 123 43 49)

GOPA—A Lord of the Gandharvas who entertained Bharata with music at the hermitage of Bharadvāja (II 91 46)

GO PRATĀRA—A holy spot in the Sarayu whoever of Rama's followers and companions gave up his life there, proceeded to heaven (VII 110 22 24)

GOMATI The—crossed by the exiled Rāma , situated to the south of the Kosala territory श्रीतप्तहा नदी, गोयुता, साग-रसगमा (II 49 10 11) Crossed by Bharata on his return journey from Kekaya at Vinata (II 71 16) Saurocana, the Vānara chief dwelt there formerly (VI 26 25) Hanumān crossed it (VI 125 26) On their way to the hermitage Sītā and Lakṣmana spent a night on its bank (VII 46 19)

GO MUKHA—Son of Mātali, and charioteer to Jayanta Indrajit overwhelmed him with arrows (VII 28 10)

GOLABHA—A Gandharva chief who carried on a 15 years' war without intermission with Valin, till he died in the sixteenth year महात्मा माहावाहु दुर्विनीत (IV 22 27-29)

GAUTAMA (i)—a sacrificial priest to Daśaratha (I 7 5) राजकर्ता (II 67 2) Attended the court on the morning following Daśaratha's demise and advised Vasishtha to appoint a king without delay (II 67 6 8) Helped Vasishtha in conducting the coronation ceremony of Rāma (VI 128 60) Summoned by Rāma entered his presence chamber and was duly received (VII 74 4 5) Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā in Rāma's court (VII 96 5)

GAUTAMY (ii)—Practised austerities with his wife Ahalya in the outskirts of Mithili महात्मा (I 45 14 16) Ahalyā raped by Indra (I 48 17 22) महामुनि While leaving the cottage Indra came upon him (I 48 23) देवदानवदुर्घटं तपोयतासमन्वित तीर्थोदकपरिक्लिष्ट दीर्घमान इयानलः (I 48 24) धूत्तसम्पन्न Angry at finding Indra in disguise pronounced a curse on him (I 48 26 27) Condemned his wife to pine for a thousand years till relieved by Rāma, when he promised to take her back (I 48 29 32) Retired to the Himalayas to practise austerities महातेजा

महातपः (I. 48 33) Indra rendered मेयवृप्तः through his influence (I 49 10) Honored Rāma and restored Ahalyā to favor (I 49 21) Came from the north to greet Rama on his return home (VII 1 5) At first Ahalyā was deposited as a trust with him by Brahman and when his patience had been sufficiently tested, she was given in marriage Indra having raped Ahalyā, he cursed him and his wife and then predicted about her emancipation (VII 30 30 45) Lived near Vajayantapura—the capital of Nimi (VII 55 5 6). In the absence of Vasishtha acted for him at Nimi's sacrifice (VII 55 11)

GHANA—A Rakṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanumān (V 6 23)

GHRTĀCI—The divine courtesan who as the wife of Kuśanābhī gave birth to a hundred daughters (I 32 11) Her help prayed for by Bharadvāja in the matter of entertaining the retinue of Bharata (II 91 17) Visvamitra's fancy for her for ten years referred to by Tarā (IV 35 7)

GHORA—A Rakṣasa chief whose house was burnt down by Hanuman (V 54 13)

CAKRA—A Rakṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanumān (V 6 24)

CAKRAVĀN, The—A hill situated in the fourth part of the Western Sea There rests a big wheel of a hundred spokes manufactured by Viśvakarman There Viṣṇu captured the conch shell and the wheel after killing the Dānavas, Pañcajana and Hayagrīva Sugrīva asked Suṣena and others to ransack its caves and valleys in search of Sītā (IV. 42 27—29)

CANDA—A Vānara chief who joined the expeditionary force against Rāvaṇa अदोत् (VI 26 27—28)

CANDĀLA, The—Bluish in appearance, rude, wearing blue cloths, with dishevelled hair, wearing garlands offered at the funeral pyre, besmeared in ashes and wearing ornaments made of iron (I 58 10—11)

CANDODARI—कूरदर्शना The Rākṣasi guard of Sītā who threatened to devour her if she did not yield to the embraces of Rāvana (V 24 38—41)

CANDANA FORESTS, The—The Vānara population thereof joined the expeditionary force of Rāma under Saṅcocaṇa (VI 20 22)

CANDRA, The—Hills in the Kṣitoda sea, on which grew medicinal herbs (VI 50 31)

CANDRA—Born of the Kṣitoda Sea शीतरश्मः निशाकरः (VII 23 22) Stands 60,000 leagues above the Milky Way (आकाशगग्नि) When assailed by Rāvana, burnt him with his 'burning cold' rays—सर्वस्त्रसुखायह् (VII 23 (d) 15—18) शीताग्नु दहनात्मकं समाधः (VII 23 (d) 20) लोकस्य हितकामः द्विभारजं महाच्युतिः (VII 23 (d) 23) Won the high position by celebrating the Rjāsuya Sacrifice भोगः धर्मचित् (VII 83 7).

CANDRAKANTA—A town, सुखचिरः निरामय (VII 102 5) In the Malla Bhumi विष्वाता दिव्या स्वर्मपुरी यथा (VII. 102 9)

CANDRA KETU—Son of Lakṣmana, धर्मविशारदः दृढविक्रम (VII 102 2) मञ्ज Made king of the Malla Bhumi (VII. 102 9)

CANDRA-CIΓRĀ—A country in the West Sugriva sent Suṣeṇa etc. there in search of Sītā (IV 42 6).

CĀRANAS The—In accordance with the desire of Brahma, produced Vanara children who would render assistance to Rāma पराय्यते (I 17 9 23) Ruled over by Indra (I 45 15) Lived on the heights of the Himalayas (I 48 33) Requested by Indra to get his testicles restored (I 49 1 4) Dwelt in the hermitage of Vačha (I 51 23) Appeased the wrath of Siva and Viṣṇu (I 75 18 19) Witnessed the duel between Rāma and Parasu Rāma (I 76 10) Prayed for the success of Rāma when he fought with Khara (III 23 27 24) Came to see the fight (III 24 19) Praised Rāma profusely and indicated their joy on the destruction of Khara (III 30 29 33) Rāvaṇa passed through groves frequented by them (III 35 15) They talked over the abduction of Sītā amongst them also (III 54 10) Lived on the banks of the Sona (IV 10 3) Haunted the Sudarśana Lake for the sake of pleasure (IV 40 41) Haunted the Mahendra Hill (IV 41 22) Haunted the Puspitaka Hills (IV 41 29) Denizens of the aerial regions (V 1 1) Saw Hanumān disappearing for a moment in the jaws of Sūbhūti (V 1 184) Were surprised to find Lālāṭ being reduced to ashes by Hanumān and were still more surprised when they found that Sītā had escaped unscathed (V 55 29 32) Paid compliments to Rāma when his army crossed the sea (VI 22 84 85) Prayed for the welfare of the universe while Indrajit fought with Lakshmana (VI 89 39) Became deeply concerned when Rāvana overpowered Rāma (VI 102 30) Went into rapture on the death of Rāvana (VI 108 30) Denizens of the third atmospheric region (VII 23 (d) 5) Greeted Arjuna on the defeat of Rāvana (VII 32 65)

CITRAKŪTA The—Being advised by Bharadvaja, Rāma with his brother and wife set up his abode there (I 1 31) During his stay there Daśaratha died of grief

(I. 1. 32-33). Bharata went to him and pressed him hard to return home. But Rāma refused (I. 1. 33-37). For fear of being disturbed by the citizens, Rāma moved on thence to the Dandaka forests (I. 1. 40). Rāma's visit foreseen by Vālmiki (I. 3. 15). Ten Krośas from Prayāga. गिरि-प्रहर्षिमेधितः पुण्यः पर्वतः शुभदर्शनः गोलाहूलानुचरितः वानरर्दिति-धेवितः गन्धमादनसंशिमः (II. 54. 28-29). So long as a man looks at its peaks, he thinks of doing noble deeds and his mind is not overtaken by folly (II. 54. 30). Wherefrom numerous Rṣis with shrivelled-up heads have proceeded to the heaven after practising austerities for a hundred years (II. 54. 31). मधुमूलफलोदयेनः (II. 54. 38). नानानगगणोपेतः किञ्चरो-रगसेधितः (II. 54. 39). मधुमूलनादाभिरतः गजराजनिदेवितः (II. 54. 40) पुण्यः रमणीयः धट्टमूलफलायुतः Infested with elephants and the deer (II. 54. 41-42). Crowded with streams, water-falls, caves, fissures and rivulets; resounding with the cooing of the Kokilas and the lapwings, and haunted by parties of elephants and herds of deer (II. 54. 42-43). Its scenic beauty described (II. 56. 6 11; 13 15). Rāma etc reached there (II. 56. 12). The pleasant sight of which effaced the memory of separation from Ayodhyā (II. 56. 35). Three yojanas and a half from Bharadvāja's hermitage रथ्यनिर्दरकाननः (II. 92. 10). Described by Bharata (II. 93. 7-19). Bharata reached there (II. 99. 14). Before taking his departure Bharata walked round it (II. 113. 3). The Rṣis who lived there were oppressed by the Rākṣasas (III. 6. 17). प्राज्यमूलफलोदयः सिङ्गाधितः देशः मन्दाकिन्यविदूरतः नानापुष्पमुग्नवी (V. 38. 13-14). Rāma's car passed across—(VI. 123. 49 50).

CITRA-RATHA—an old counsellor and charioteer of Rāma. On the eve of his exile, Rāma instructed Lakṣmana to make valuable presents to him (II. 32. 17-18).

CULIN—महायुतिः ऊर्ध्वरेताः शुभाचारः Practised the Brāhma austerities (I. 33. 11). Tended by the Gandharvī Somadā (I. 33. 12). Pleased with her devotion asked her the way in which he might recompense her (I. 33. 13-14). मुनिः वाय्यकोविदः (I. 33. 15). In fulfilment of her desire (I. 33. 15-17) granted her a mind-born son, Brahmadatta by name. ग्रस्तिपिः (I. 33. 18.).

CAITRA-RATHA (i)—A forest crossed by Bharata on his way back from Kekaya (II. 71. 4).

CAITRA-RATHA (ii)—The gardeos of Kuvera in the land of the Uttara Kurus (II. 91. 19). The garlands which could be seen only there appeared in Prayāga by the might of Bharadvāja (II. 91. 48). Destroyed by Rāvana (III. 32. 15-16). Where reigns the Spring season throughout the year (III. 73. 8).

COLĀ—A country in the South. Sugriva asked Angada to go there in search of Sita (IV. 41. 12).

CYAVANA—A great Rsi who practised austerities on the Himalaya. A scion of the family of Bhrgu (I. 70. 31-32). In reply to the queen Kāliodi's prayer (I. 70. 29-33) predicted that she would give birth to a son "with poison" (स+गर) (I. 70. 34-35). देवयचस् (I. 70. 32). विप्रः (I. 70. 34). Led a deputation of Rsis to Rāma (VII. 60. 1). In reply to Satrughna's query (VII. 67. 1-2), described how Lavana destroyed Māodhata of the Ikṣvāku line, then advised him to kill him at a time when he would come out leaving his arms behind (VII. 67. 3-26). A descendant of Bhrgu, consulted by Bodha with regard to Ila (VII. 90. 5). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā to Rāma's Court (VII. 96. 4).

CHĀYĀ-GRĀHA—A Rakṣasi Hanumāo's visit to her fore-seen by Vālmiki (I. 3. 28).

JATĀPURA—A दक्ष्य town in the West. Sugrīva sent Suṣena etc. there in search of Sītā (IV. 42. 13).

- JATĀYO—A vulture of the Pañcavati forest killed by Rāvana (I. I. 53). The carcase burnt by Rāma (I. f. 54). His death foreseen by Vālmīki (I. 3. 21) On his way to Pañcavati Rāvana met him. महाकायः भीमपराक्रमः (III. 14. 1). In reply to Rāma's enquiries (III. 14. 2) introduced himself as his father's friend (III. 14. 3). As such honoured by Rāma who further asked him to trace his descent and his name (III. 14. 4). Did so accordingly and incidentally narrated the history of the creation (III. 14. 5-32). Son of Arūpa and Śēni and brother of Sampāti (III. 14. 33). Offered to look after Sītā during the absence of Rāma and Lakṣmāna (III. 14. 34). Embraced by Rāma closely (III. 14. 35). Appointed protector of Sītā, as such accompanied Rāma into the Pañcavati (III. 14. 36). Seen by Sītā while she was being abducted by Rāvana and charged to give that piece of information to Rāma and Lakṣmāna (III. 49.36-40). Roused from sleep by the cries of Sītā, saw her being abducted by Rāvana (III. 50.1). पर्वतशूगामः तोषणतुलडः संगोचम्. यन्तस्पतिगतः (III. 50.2). Advised Rāvana not to molest the innocent Rāma and then challenged him to fight a duel (III. 50.3-28). पुराणे धर्मे स्थितः सत्यसंथयः (III. 50.3). घृधराजः महावलः (III. 50.4). Born 60,000 years ago, since then he had been ruling over his ancestral dominions (III. 50.20). Fought a hard-contested battle with Rāvana in the aerial regions in the course of which scratched his body mercilessly, broke two bows and his chariot; killed the horses and the charioteer, and unseated Rāvana from his car. Praised by all creatures for his bravery. Wounded Rāvana with his bills and talons, lopped off his set of left arms. At last his wings and talons were cut off by Rāvana and he dropped down mortally wounded (III. 51.1-43).

महातेजाः (III. 51.13). वली (III. 51.15). श्रीमान् पक्षीराजः (III. 51.18). वीर्यवान् (III. 51.33). नखपद्ममुखायुधः (III. 51.35). अस्तिदमः (III. 51.38). अनूलवीर्यः (III. 51.41). नीलजीमूतनिकाशकल्पः सपाण्डुरोरस्कः उदारवीर्यः (III. 51.45). His loss mourned by Sītā (III. 51.46) Finding Rāma rushing at him with his bow and arrow drawn ready for use, informed him of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, the story of his resistance and the mortal wounds inflicted by the enemy (III. 67.13-20). Embraced by Rāma (III. 67.21). In reply to Rāma's anxious enquiries (III. 68.1-7) told that Rāvaṇa had taken her towards the south by the aerial route, foretold that Rāma would recover Sītā in no time by destroying the might of Rāvaṇa So saying died vomiting blood mixed with flesh (III. 68.8-17) His death mourned by Rāma and Lakṣmana who duly performed his last rites (III. 68.18-38). His whole hearted devotion to the cause of Rāma highly praised by Angada in the presence of Sampati (IV. 56.9-14). धर्मदः (IV. 56.12) गुणदः स्वाधीनीयः विक्रमैः (IV. 56.21). His death at the hands of Rāvaṇa described by Angada (IV. 57.9-11). Accompanied by his brother, Sampati, vanquished Indra, but was overcome by Surya (IV. 58.4-6). कामरूपिन् (IV. 60.19) Dropped down senseless in Janasthāna (IV. 61.16) Remembered gratefully by Sītā (V. 26.16-17).

JATI—A great Naga chief vanquished by Rāvaṇa (VI. 7.9).

JANAKA I—Son of Mithi and founder of the royal line of the Janakas. His son was Udāvasu (I. 71.4)

JANAKA II—Rāja of Mithili श्री सत्यवादी महामाणः (I. 13.21). His future relation with Daśaratha predicted by Vasishtha. Sumantra deputed to fetch him to Ayodhyā to witness the performance of the Aśvamedha (I. 13.22)

पूरमध्यमिष्टः Celebrated a sacrifice which was attended by Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (I. 31. 6). In possession of a wonderful jewel of bows (I. 31. 7). **महात्मा** (I. 31. 11). Ruled over Mithila (I. 48. 10). Received Viśvāmitra etc. warmly, accompanied by due forms (I. 50. 6-8). Offered them seats and then asked the Ṛṣi to wait till the Devas appeared to claim their due shares (I. 50. 12-16). Enquired about Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (I. 50. 17-21). Viśvāmitra after relating their adventures told him that they had come to examine the Great Bow (I. 50. 22-25). Having eulogised Viśvāmitra took leave of him to attend the sacrificial session (I. 55. 31-39) वैदेशः मिथिलाधिपः (I. 65. 39). Next morning received Viśvāmitra and the Princes in audience. **धर्मतिर्त्य** (I. 66. 1-3). **महात्मा** (I. 66. 4). On being requested by Viśvāmitra to show the bow to the Princes (I. 66. 4-6) related the history of the bow and concluded by promising to marry Sītā to Rāma if he could bend the bow (I. 66. 7-26). At the request of Viśvāmitra, asked his men to bring the bow—garlanded and besmeared in scents (I. 67. 1-2). When the bow was brought in (I. 67. 3-5) in glowing terms described its potency, how it had baffled the attempts of the Devas and the Asuras, what to speak of men ; then asked Viśvāmitra to show it to the Princes (I. 67. 7-11). The noise produced by the cracking bow did not overpower him (I. 67. 19). **वाक्यवृत्तः** Congratulated Rāma on his success and requested permission to send his men to Ayodhyā to bring Daśaratha over to Mithila (I. 67. 20-26). With the consent of Viśvāmitra, did so (I. 67. 27). Learning that Daśaratha had reached Videha, made arrangements for receiving him formally. **श्रीमान्** (I. 69. 7). Received him warmly and proposed to celebrate the marriage next morning (I. 69. 8-13). Performed the rites and ceremonies connected with marriage at night. **महातेजाः** (I. 69. 18). Next morning

sent for his brother Kuśadhvaja from Sāṅkāśya (I. 70. 1-4). On his arrival the two brothers seated themselves on the thrones and sent for Daśaratha and the Princes (I. 70. 9-12). धर्मवस्तुतः (I. 70. 9). अभितयुक्तिः (I. 70. 10). घीरः (I. 70. 11). On hearing out Vasiṣṭha who recited the genealogical table of the Ikṣvākus (I. 70. 14-45) traced his own descent from Nimi and described how he annexed Sāṅkāśya and gave it away to his brother (I. 71. 1-19). Promised to give Sītā in marriage to Rāma and his second daughter, Urmilā, to Lakṣmaṇa (I. 71. 20-22). Requested Daśaratha to perform the rites and ceremonies preceding the marriage ceremony which was to take place on the third day (I. 71. 23-24). At the request of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra consented to give the two daughters of Kuśadhvaja in marriage to Bharata and Satrughna (I. 72. 11-12). Honored the two Ṛsis (I. 72. 15). असंख्येयगुणः (I. 72. 18). Vasiṣṭha having sought (or permission to introduce the groom's party, gladly gave it and said that he too was ready with the girls (I. 73. 10-16.) महातेजाः परमधर्मवित् (I. 73. 13). Requested Vasiṣṭha to conduct the ceremony (I. 73. 18-19). When the fire was lit up and the offerings were made by Vasiṣṭha, he placed Sītā in front of the fire facing Rāma, then he formally requested Rāma to accept his daughter Sītā as his life-long companion. So saying he sprinkled the holy water on them (I. 73. 24-28). Asked Lakṣmaṇa to put his hands in those of Urmilā (I. 73. 30-31), Bharata in those of Māṇḍavi (I. 73. 31-32); Satrughna in those of Śrutakīrti (I. 73. 32-33). Gave suitable presents to his daughters while they were leaving for Ayodhyā (I. 74. 3-7). Not invited by Daśaratha while the latter intended to appoint Rāma as the Crown-Prince (II. 1. 48). Presented with a few weapons on the occasion of a sacrifice by Varuṇa, which he passed on to Rāma at the time of latter's marriage (II. 31. 29-30).

Remembered by Kausalyā on the death of Daśaratha (II. 66. 7; 11). वृद्धः अरपुषः (II. 66. 11). Sītā introduced herself as the daughter of— ; महात्मा (III. 47. 3). Rāma guessed the grief of Janaka when he would learn the fate of his daughter (III. 62. 12-14). Remembered by Rāma while mourning the loss of Sītā (IV. 1. 106). The jewel given him by Indra, was transferred to Sītā at time of her marriage (V. 66. 4-5). Dismissed by Rāma with due honour (VII. 38. 2-7).

JANAMEJAYA—The blind old father prayed that his son who had been killed by Daśaratha might go to the abode where Janamejaya dwelt (II. 64. 42).

JANASTHĀNA—Sarpanakhā was an inhabitant of that place (I. 1. 46). Had a colony of 14000 Rākṣasas who were killed by Rāma (I. 1. 47—48). For fear of the Rākṣasas the ascetic-colony moved from—(II. 116. 11—25). Inhabited by Kham and other Rākṣasas (III 18. 25). The news of the massacre of the Rākṣasas communicated to Rāvaṇa by Akampaṇa (III. 31. 1—2). The same fact communicated to Mārīca by Rāvaṇa (III. 31. 40). Having killed Mārīca Rāma hastened towards—(III. 44. 27). Charged by Sītā to carry the news of her abduction to Rāma (III. 49. 30). राक्षसैः वहुभिः कीर्णप्, नानाद्रुमलतायुतम् (III. 67. 5—6). Rāma's aerial car passed across—(VI. 123. 42—45). Modern name of the Daṇḍaka (VII. 81. 20).

JAMADAGNI—Son of Ṛcika and father of Parashū-Rāma. Received the great Vaiṣṇava Bow from his father. Killed by Rājā Kartaviryā Arjuna when he had laid aside his weapons. महात्मा अप्रतिकर्मी तपेऽवलसमन्वितः (175 22—24). Came from the north to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1. 6).

JAMBU-MĀLI—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanumān (V. 6. 21.) At the desire of Rāvaṇa (V. 42. 44) fought a duel with Hanumān and was killed.

(V 44 1—18) Son of Prahosta यली महादप्त धनुर्धर
 (V 44 1) रक्षमात्याम्परधर धन्वी रुचिरकुण्डल महान्
 विवृत्तनयनं चण्डि समरदुर्जय (V 44 2) महातेजा (V 44 6)
 महाप्रल (V 44 13) महारथ (V 44 18) Hanuman set
 fire to his house (V 54 11) Fought a duel with Hanuman
 (VI 43 7) Wounded Hanuman on the breast (VI 43 21)

JAMBŪDVIPA—Surrounded by hills, dug open by
 Sagara's sons (I 39 22) Lies to the north of Saumanas Mt
 (IV 40 59)

JAMBŪ PRASTHA—A village where Bharata on his
 way back from Kekaya broke his journey (II 71 11)

JAMBHA—A Vanara chief who hurried on the invading
 army to the South during its march to Lanka (VI 4 36)

JAYANTA (i)—A counsellor of Dasaratha (I 7 3) Went
 out to receive Rama on his return (VI 127 11)

JAYANTA (ii)—A messenger sent by Vasistha on the
 death of Dasaratha to bring back Bharata to Ayodhya (II 68 5)
 Reached Raja grha (II 70 1) Well received by the Raja
 and the prince, approached Bharata delivered Vasistha's
 message and handed over the presents to him (II 70 25)
 Replied to Bharata's enquiries and requested him to make
 haste (II 70 11 12)

JAYANTA (iii)—Soo of Indra and Saci अपराजित ।
 Fought a duel with Megha nada at the head of the divine
 army At last abducted by his maternal grandfather,
 Puloma (VII 28 6 20)

JAYĀ—A daughter of Daksa Gave birth to hundreds
 of weapons (I 21 15) Having been granted a boon she
 produced fifty invisible weapons as sons for the destruction
 of the Asuras (I 21 16)

JALODA SEA The—One found oneself there after
 crossing the Kṣiroda ocean सर्वभूतभयापह । In the waters

of which Brahman placed the ocean fire arising out of the wrath of Aurva Rsi Where one hears the continuous sound of lamentation raised by the water animals for fear of being burnt to death (IV 40 47 49) Sweet watered (IV 40 50) Sugriva asked Vinata to go there in search of Sita (IV 40 16)

JAVA—Father of Viradha the Raksasa (III 35)

JAHNU—A Rsi whose sacrificial area was overflowed by Gaṅga Being angry he drank off the water Appeased by the Devas etc who conceded that Gaṅga was his daughter Released her by way of the ears (I 43 25 38)

JĀTA RŪPA SILA, The—Hills situated to the north of the Jaloda Seas 13 Yojanas in length सुमहान कनकप्रम ! There dwelt the moon white snake which supported the Earth Sugriva asked Vinata to go there in quest of Sita (IV 40 50 51)

JABALI—A sacrifice^{ing} priest of Dasaratha (I 75) Came to Ayodhya when sent for by the king for performing the Asvamedha (I 86) On the way to Mithila the coveyance carrying him preceded that of Dasaratha (I 69 5 6) On the moroing following the death of Dasaratha attended the court and advised Vasiṣṭha to appoint a king without delay (II 67 5 8) ब्राह्मणात्म (II 108 1) In support of Bharata tried to persuade Rama to return to Ayodhya by preaching his Epicurian vie vs In short he wanted Rama to believe that he owed no duties to his father who was dead and gone and that in pursuit of visionary ideals he ought not to resign things which were sure to come (II 108 2 18)

[Jabali did not believe in the efficacy of Sraddhas Sacrifices ascetism gifts and worshipping the gods (II 108 14 16)] Seeing that Rama had taken his argument in on

unfavourable light, excused himself by saying that he was not an atheist, but did reason in that way simply to persuade him to return to Ayodhyā (II. 109. 37 39). Returned to Ayodhyā with Bharata दृढ़वतः (II. 113. 2). Helped Vasistha in conducting the coronation ceremony of Rāma (VI. 128. 60). Summoned by Rāma entered his presence-chamber and was duly received (VII. 74. 4-5). Consulted by Rāma on the eve of his Aśvamedha sacrifice (VII. 91. 2) Witnessed the oath taking ceremony of Sītā at Rāma's court (VII. 96. 2).

JĀMBAVĀN—A bear created by Brahmā from his own (I. 17. 7). Partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrīva (IV. 26. 35) Lakṣmana passed by his richly decorated house at Kiṣkiodhā (IV. 33. 11). मरुदाराजः महातेजा. Supplied 10 Krores of soldiers to Sugrīva (IV. 39. 26-27) Sugrīva wanted to send him to the south in search of Sītā. महैत्याः (IV. 41. 2). Having rao-sacked the Vindhyaś entered the Rk-a cave in search of water (IV. 50. 1-8). The words of Sampīti put him in high glee and anxiously enquired if any body had seen Sītā being abducted by Rāvana (IV. 59. 1-4). The oldest of all the Vānara chiefs. In reply to Angada's appeal told that even at that advanced age he could easily jump across 90 yojanas (IV. 65. 10-17) In reply to Angada's offer (IV. 65. 18-19) persuaded him that he should give his servants the first chance (IV. 65. 20-27). पारवसायिदः (IV. 65. 20) महाप्राप्तः (IV. 65. 28) In reply to Angada's protest (IV. 65. 28-32) suggested the name of Hanumān who alone could carry out the task (IV. 65. 33-35) Describing the early life of Hanumān and his marvellous adventures, appealed to him to gird up his loins for jumping across the sea—since he had become old and cripple (IV. 66. 1-37) Went round the earth 21 times at the time of Vāmana Avatāra and threw heaps of medicines into the sea

by churning which, the Amṛta was produced (IV. 66. 32-33). Finding Hanūmān ready to take a leap across the sea extended a hearty send-off and promised to do penance standing on one leg till he returned safely (IV. 67. 30-35). On hearing the loud roars of Hanūmān on his return journey (V. 57. 14-18) told the Vānaras about his success (V. 57. 22-23). इतिथेष्टः (V. 57. 22). Asked Hanūmān to describe to them in detail everything that happened since he left them (V. 58. 3-6). अर्थयित् (V. 60. 14). In reply to Angada's proposal (V. 60. 1-13) said that they should carry out the orders of Rāma and Sugrīva to the very letter, so proposed that they should return without delay with this piece of news (V. 60. 14-20). Placed in charge of the flank of the invading army by Rāma (VI. 4. 20). Did as directed (VI. 4. 34). शास्त्रवृद्ध्या विचक्षणः (VI. 17. 45). In reply to Rāma's request (VI. 17. 31-33) thought they had reasons to suspect the motives of Bibhīṣana (VI. 17. 45-46). Placed in charge of the flank of the army (VI. 24. 17). Younger brother of Jāmbavān, mightier than his brother (VI. 27. 10.) प्रशान्तः गुरुवर्ती संप्रहारेषु अमर्यणः (VI. 27. 11). Helped Indra during his wars with the Asuras (VI. 27. 12). Son of Gadgada (VI. 30. 20). Was to lead the attack against the central fortress along with Bibhīṣana (VI. 37. 32). Fought near the central stronghold with his army (VI. 41. 44-45). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 46. 19). Carefully guarded the Vānara army (VI. 47.2-4). At the desire of Sugrīva (VI. 50. 8-10) re-assembled the disorganised Vānara army (VI. 50. 11). Killed Mahānāda (VI. 58. 22). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 45). स्वमाय जरया युक्तः, वृद्धः, Covered with arrows, appeared like extinguishing fire (VI. 74. 14) In reply to Bibhīṣana's query (VI. 74. 15) haltingly said that he could recognise him by his voice as he had lost his eyes; further enquired if Hanūmān till then lived (VI. 74.

16 18) In reply to Bibhīṣana's query (VI 74 19 20) said that he cared much for the life of Hanumān because every wrong would be set right if he lived (VI 74 21 23) Wheo Haoumān came (VI 74 24) directed him to go to the Oṣadhi Parvata and requested him to leach four medicines that would revive the Vanaras (VI 74 26—34) At the desire of Rāma (VI 76 56 57) rao to the assistance of Aṅgada (VI 76 60) In obedieoce to Rāma's order (VI. 83 1 3) proceeded to the battle field with his Rkṣas to tender assistance to Hanumān (VI 83 4) But stopped oo the way by Haoumān, he returned (VI 83 5 6) In response to Bibhīṣana's appeal (VI 89 7-19) fought with his Rkṣas ogaiost the followers of Indrajit (VI 89 20 24). His joy knew no bounds wheo Lakṣmana recovered (VI 91 28) Crushed to death the horses and demolished the chariot of Mahā-Parsva (VI 93 8 9) Overpowered by Mahā Parsva with arrow shots (VI 98 11 12) On the occasion of Rāma's coronation fetched the water of 500 rivers (VI 128 52 53) Returned home after being duly hooured with the bestowal of gifts (VI 128 85 86). Greeted and honoured by Rama (VII 39 21) Asked by Rāma to stay on in the world भग्नस्तः पूर्व (VII 108 33).

JYOTIR MUKHA—A Vanara chief, son of Sarjā, who joined the expeditioonary force (VI 30 32) Attacked Rāvana with a huge stone but disabled (VI 59 42—43). Wounded by Indrajit (VI 73 60)

TAKṢA—Son of Bharata, तक्षः (VII 100 16). Consecrated by Rāma (VII 100 19) Accompanied the invading army to Lekaja (VII 100 20)

TAKṢAKA—Defeated by Rāvana and his wife captured by force (III 32 14), (VI 7. 9)

TAKṢAŚILA—A town in Gāndbāra founded by Bbarata
Described (VI. 10I 10—15)

TAPANA—A Rākṣasa chief who fought a duel with
Gaja (VI. 43 9)

TAMASĀ, The—A river not far from the Gaṅgā, where
Vālmīki used to take his bath (I. 2 3--4). Its clear water and
unstained bank praised (I 2 5) Rāma arrived at its bank
on the evening of the day of his exile (II. 45. 32). Crossed it
the next morning शीघ्रगामा आकुलावतर्ति (II. 46. 21)

TARASA—A Vanara chief who fought under Hanuman at
the Western gate (VI 4I 40—41)

TĀTAKĀ— यक्षिणी कामरूपिणी, Possessed the strength
of a hundred elephants, wife of Sunda Mother of the
Raksasa—Marica (I 24 25—27) Devastated the countries
Maladās and Karūṣās (I 24. 29) Stood obstructing the
path Rāma asked to kill her दुष्टारिणी (I 24 30)
Daughter of Suketu, the Yekṣa chief, घलोत्कटा came to possess
the streaght of a thousand elephants by the grace
of Brahman On her attaining youth and beauty, married to
Sunda यशस्विनी। Soon after she became the mother of
Mārīca Sunda being struck dead, with her son rushed at
Agastya Changed into a Rāksasi by the great sage Thus,
out of spite she devastated the region colonised by Agastya
पुरुषादी, महायक्षी, विहृता, विहृतानना, दुर्वृत्ता, परमदारणा,
दुष्पराकमा, शापसस्था (I 25 6—16) अथमर्य धर्म हि अस्यां
न विद्यते (I 25 19) On hearing the twang made by Rāma
with his bow string, got angry and then ran in the direction
from which the sound came (I 26 7—8) मैखं दाढणम्
धपुः, भित्तेन्दूर्शनादस्था. भीक्षणं हृदयानि च, दुराधर्पा, भाषापल-
समन्विता (I 26 10—11) On hearing the conversation that
Rāma had with Lakṣmana regarding her (I 26 9—12) she
made a rush at the Prince making a loud noise and whi-

uplifted arms Then enveloped them in a cloud of dust and hurled stones at them (I 26 13—16) Rama stayed her stones and lopped off her arms, while Lakṣmana cut off her nose and ears कामरुप्यरा Assumed various forms and at last vanished Roamed about hurling stones at them दुष्टचारिणी, यज्ञविभकारिणी, Captured in a net work of arrows Rushed at the brothers with the speed of lightning Struck dead with an arrow that pierced her heart भीमस्तकाशा (I 26 7—26)

TAMRA PARNI The—A river in the extreme South प्राह्लदा, मदानदी। Sugriva asked Angada to cross it after propitiating Agastya, in search of Sita (IV 41 17) Falls into the sea चित्र चन्दनवने प्रच्छुन्दीपवारिणी (IV 41 17—18)

TĀMRA—Daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Kaśyapa (III 14 10—12) Did not mind the proffered boon of her husband (III 14 12—13) Gave birth to five daughters—Krau cī Bhasti Syeni Dhṛita rāṣṭri and Suki (III 14 17—18)

TARA—A Vanara chief son of Bṛhaspati (I 17 11) Accompanied Sugriva to Kishkindha (IV 13 4) At the request of Lakṣmana hastened with a beautiful palaoquin in which the corpse of Valin was carried to the riverside (IV 25 20—26) Lakṣmana passed by his richly decorated mansion in Kishkindha (IV 33 11) Joined Sugriva with five kros of Vānaras तारायुति (IV 39 30—31) Went to the South in search of Sita (IV 45 6) Accompanied Angada and Hanumān to the south (IV 43 1) Searched in vain the waterless and treeless tracts of the Vindhya (IV 43 2—23) Having ransacked the Vindhya entered the Rkṣa cave in search of water (IV 50 1—5) Coming out of the Rkṣa cave approved of Angada's proposal of never returning home and proposed to take refuge in Maya's cave once more

(IV 53 25—26) ताराधिपद्मर्चस् (IV 54 1) In reply to Rīvana's enquiry (VII 34 1—3) replied that his match, Valin had gone to office the morning prayers to the four seas and that if he was impatient to meet his antagonist then he might repair to the western sea (VII 34 4—10) Created by the gods to help Rama (VII 36 47)

TĀRĀ—Wife of Valin—he took leave of her (I 1 69) Her grief foreseen by Vālmīki (I 3 24) Valin before going out to fight Dundubhi sent her away (IV 11 37) While Valin was going out to meet Sugriva in a duel, advised him not to fight with him as he had secured the alliance of Rama and Lakṣmana, but to conciliate him by appointing him the Yuvaraja (IV 15 6—30) ताराधप्तनिभानना (IV 16 1) Valin having sworn to spare his brother's life (IV 16 1—10) she retired after embracing him and performing the *Svasthyayana* ceremony (IV 16 11—12) प्रियवादिनी इक्षिणी (IV 16 11) मम्मवित् विजयपिणी (IV 16 12) सर्वज्ञा (IV 17 41), तपस्तिनी (IV 18 55) Dropped down from an eminence on hearing the news of the assassination of Valin (IV 19 3—4) Tried to stop the Vanaras who were leaving town out of fight सती (IV 19 6—9); जीघपुत्री (IV 19 11) रचिरानना (IV 19 15) चारहासिती (IV 19 17) On hearing the nervous answer returned by the Vanaras out of despair went to her dying husband weeping bitterly (IV 19 17—21) Cutting Rama and Sugriva ran towards Valin and on seeing him fell flat on the ground and began to weep (IV 19 25—27) भासिनी (IV 20 2, Mourned the loss of her husband along with her co-wives (IV 20 1—25) अनिद्यवणी (IV 20 26) Took to fasting out of grief (IV 20 26) Refused to leave the side of her dying husband (IV 21 12—16) when consoled by Hanuman (IV 21 1—11) परिष्ठरा (IV 21 5)

अनिन्दिता (IV. 21 8) सुपेणदुहिता चेयमर्यसूक्ष्मविनिश्चये ।
 औत्पातिके च विविधे सर्वत् परिनिष्ठिता (IV 22 13) On the
 death of Valin fell frantically on the corpse (IV 22 31)
 Then smelling his face fondly bitterly regretted her
 widowhood and the helpless condition of her only child
 (IV 23 1-17) When Nila had extracted the deadly harb
 from Valin's heart (IV 23 17—19) bathed the wound with
 tears, then asked Angada to take leave of his father and in
 touching words mourned his loss (IV 23 20-30) लोकथ्रुता
 (IV 23 1) Rama saw her lying in the hattle field
 embracing the corpse of Valin, surrounded by the ministers
 who were trying to separate her (IV 24 25-26) कपिसिद्धनाथा
 अदीनसत्त्वा (IV 24 26) मृगशावनेत्रा (IV 24 28) While
 being removed recognised Rama and rushing towards him
 frantically prayed that she too, might he put to death like
 Valin And then assured him that by so doing he would not
 commit a fresh sin as she was part and parcel of Valin's soul
 (IV 24 27-41) आर्या (IV 24 29) मनस्त्विती (IV 24 30)
 वीरपत्नी सुवेशरूपा Held her peace when consoled by Rama
 (IV 24 44) Followed the funeral procession of Valin
 weeping bitterly (IV 25 35—36) Mourned the death of
 her husband when the hier was placed on the river bank
 till separated by other Vanaris (IV 25 39—48) Offered
 water in memory of Valin (IV 25 51—53) Appropriated
 by Sugriva on the death of Valin (IV 29 4) Saluted by
 Angada (IV 31 37) At the desire of Sugriva went out to
 meet Lakshmana प्रियदर्शना, सुभ्रू, अनिन्दिता, प्रस्तुलत्ती, मद-
 विहलत्ती, प्रलम्बकाञ्जीगुणहमसूत्रा सुलक्षणा, नमिनागयष्टि (IV 33
 31—38) In her drunken state enquired about the cause
 of Lakshman's wrath (IV 33 40—41) कार्यतत्त्वा (IV 33
 49) In reply to Lakshman's charges against Sugriva
 (IV 33 43—49) made excuses on his behalf and assured

bim that steps had already been taken to muster the Vānaras from all quarters, then requested him to see the king in the harem (IV 33 50—61). Tried to appease the wrath of Lakṣmana (IV 35. 1—23). Her appropriation by Sugrīva during the temporary absence of Vālin recalled (IV. 46 9). At the desire of Sugrīva (VI 123 29—32) got ready with other Vānara ladies and took her seat on the car bound for Ayodhyā सर्वंगाधेभना (VI. 123 33—37).

TĀREYA—A Vanam chief, created to help Rāma (VII. 36 47)

TĀRKŚYAS, The—Produced Vānara children who could render aid to Rāma (I 17. 21).

TĀLAJANGHĀS—The Rājā of which country defeated Asita (I 70 27-29)

TIMIDHVAJA—Vide Śambara (II 9. 12-13).

TUMBURU—A Gaadharva chief, whose services were requisitioned by Bharadvāja in the matter of entertaining the army of Bharata (II 91 18) Sang in the presence of Bharata (II 91 46). Cursed by Kuvera assumed the form of Virādha for his excessive attachment for Rambha (III. 4 16 19)

TRNABINDU—Lived in his hermitage near the Meru Hills (VII 2 7) राजपि: (VII 2 14) On finding that his daughter manifested all signs of pregnancy (VII 2. 17) enquired what the matter was (VII 2. 19) On hearing the answer of his daughter (VII. 2 20 22) through meditation came to know the actual facts , then taking the girl with him to Pulastya requested him to accept her as his wife (VII 2 23 26) तपसा चोतिप्रभः (VII 2 23)

TRNABINDU'S DAUGHTER—Ignorant of the curse of Pulastya (VII 2 12-13) went near her father's hermitage in search of her companions Instantaneously she was

big with a child Being perturbed approached her father (VII 2 14 18) In reply to her father's anxious enquiries (VII 2 19) faithfully described what had come to pass (VII 2 20 22) Married to Polastya (VII 2 27) pleased him mightily through her self less devotion (VII 2 28 29) By favour of Polastya gave birth to a son Visravā by name (VII 2 32)

TORANA—Bharata on his way back from Kekaya passed through the south of this village (II 71 11)

TRIKŪTA—Name of a hill in Lankā seated on which Haooman took a view of Lankā (V 2 1) On the pointed peak of which was situated Lankā (VI 39 17 19) Its caves rang with the din of battle (VI 44 26)

TRIJATĀ (i)—A Brahmane of the Gargya family, tawny coloured, lived in the forests on roots etc. which he dug up (सत्त्वस्त्रियः) (II 32 29) The old man had a young wife and a brood of children (II 32 30) At his wife's suggestion approached Rāma and related his poverty (II 32 30 35) Lustrous like Bhṛgu and Angirasa (II 32 33) At the suggestion of Rāma threw his stick which covered the cow preserve of Rāma on the other bank of the Sarayu (II 32 37 38) Received all those cows (II 32 39) Retired with his wife blessing Rāma profusely महामुति (II 32 43)

TRIJATĀ (ii)—A Rākṣasi Her dream foreseen by Vālmīki (I 3 31) रुदा Finding that the Rākṣasis were scolding Sita told them that she had dreamt horrible dreams (V 27 4 6) On enquiry (V 27 7 8) described her dreams that indicated the victory of Rāma over the Rākṣasas and the destruction of Rāvana and his relatives Then asked the Rākṣasis not to behave rudely with their captive (V 27 9 46) Sent for by Rāvana (VI 47 6) At the desire of Rāvana (VI 47 5 10) placed Sita on the Puspaka car and kept her company

during flight (VI. 47. 11-14). Never told a lie before nor was she prepared to do so in future (VI. 48.29). Advancing various reasons tried to impress the idea on Sītā's mind that the princes were not dead (VI. 48. 22-33). Returned to the Aśoka Park along with Sītā (VI. 48. 35-36).

TRIPURA—The three cities which Śiva pierced with the bow and arrows given by the Devas (I. 75. 12). Referred to (III. 64. 72) (V. 54. 30) (VI. 71. 74).

TRISANKU—Thought of proceeding to heaven by celebrating a sacrifice. सत्यदात्री जितेन्द्रियः (I. 57. 10-12). Vasiṣṭha having ridiculed the idea (I. 57. 12-13), approached his hundred sons who also refused to undertake the task. Finding him determined to carry out his purpose with extraneous help, they cursed him (I. 58. 2-9). On the morning following became a Candala (I. 58. 10-11). Deserted by the ministers and citizens (I. 58. 11-12). All alone approached Viśvāmitra who pitied him. Rājā of Ayodhyā (I. 58. 12-16). At the desire of Viśvāmitra, narrated his previous history, then appealed to him to take up his cause merely to establish the superiority of Human Endeavour over Providence. मया चेष्ट क्रतुशतम् अनृतं नोकपूर्वम् प्रजा धर्मेण पालिता गुरवश्च महात्मानः शीलवृत्तेन तोषितः (I. 58. 17-24). वाक्यः - (I. 58. -17). Viśvāmitra promised to take up his cause सुधार्मिकः नृपतुगवः (I. 59. 2-5). Deputed to heaven on the responsibility of Viśvāmitra (I. 60. 15-16). धर्मिषुः वदान्यः (I. 60. 2). Extradicted by Indra and other Devas, fell head foremost (I. 60. 16-18). His fall stayed by Viśvāmitra (I. 60. 20). Out of wrath created a fresh heaven for him with its stars and planets and then proceeded to create a fresh set of Devas (I. 60. 21-23). On this the Devas approached him and a compromise was arrived at according to which the Rājā was to live head downwards in the midst of the fresh heaven created by the Ṛṣi.

(I 60 f30 33) Son of Prithu and er of Dhundumāraṣṭ
(I 70 24)

TRISIRĀ(i)—A Rākṣasa of Janasthana killed by Rama
(I 1 47) His death foreseen by Valmīki (I 3 20) A general of Duṣana (III 23 33) Only he along with Khara remained alive of the 14,000 soldiers of Khara (III 26 35 37) वाहिनीपति (III 27 1) Persuaded Khara to allow him to fight with Rama before he himself went to give battle (III 27 15) Having received the permission (III 27 6) drove towards Rama discharging sharp arrows and making a fearful noise (III 27 7—8) Put up a stiff fight and wounded Rama on the forehead (III 27 10 11) 14 arrows discharged by Rama pierced his heart his horses and charioteer killed (III 27 13—15) His three heads lopped off by means of 3 arrows (III 27 16 18)

TRISIRĀ (ii)—यशस्वी शशिवकाश Accompanied Rāvana to the battle field holding a sharp pike in his hand and riding on a bull (VI 59 19) Nephew of Kumbhakarna who mourned the loss of his uncle (VI 68 7) Consoled Rāvana and offered to go to the battle field himself (VI 69 17) A son of Rāvana शुक्रतुल्यपराक्रम पीर अन्तरिक्षगत मायाविशारद प्रिदशदर्पण समर्दुर्मद सुयलसम्पन्न विस्तीर्णकीर्ति Never suffered a defeat अस्त्रविद्यु युद्धविशारद प्रथरविशान लघ्यधर शुभ्रलादन भास्मरतुल्यदर्शन (VI 69 10 14) Son of Rāvana started for the battle field taking leave of Rāvana (VI 69 17—19) Went to the battle field driving in a chariot and holding a bow and arrows in his hand (VI 69 22 24) On the death of Narottaka made a rush at Ahgada driving in a chariot (VI 70 1-4) In the course of the fight cut off the trees and stones flung at him and wounded Ahgada on the forehead with arrows (VI 70 6—19) Fought with Ahgada (VI 70 22) (VI 70 26) Fought a contested duel

with Hādumān in the course of which lost his horse, arms and ultimately his life (VI. 70. 32-48).

TVAṢṬĀ—One of the Ādityas: went out bravely to fight against the Rākṣasas (VII. 27. 36).

DAKṢA—Jayā and Suprabhā were his daughters (I. 21. 15). The destruction of his sacrifice referred to (I. 66. 9). A Prajāpati who followed Pulaha (III. 14. 9). Had sixty daughters (III. 14. 10).

DANDA (i)—A Rākṣasa chief, son of Sumāhu and Ketumatī (VII. 5. 38-39).

DANDA (ii)—The youngest son of Ikṣvāku, मृदुः अर्द्ध-यिद्यः अल्पतेजाः; deputed to rule over the country lying between the Vindhya and the Saivala hills. Founded the town Madhumanta—his capital, and appointed Uṣanā his priest. Thus he ruled mightily over the kingdom (VII. 79. 14-20). दान्तात्मा (VII. 80. 2). सुदुर्मेधाः (VII. 80. 5). Once in the month of Caitra visited his priest's hermitage; there coming across the beautiful Araja, the eldest daughter of the R̥si, was overcome by desire, and enquired who she was and made his proposal (VII. 80. 1-6). In spite of her refusal (VII. 80. 7-12) raped her and departed (VII. 80. 13-17). Following upon the curse pronounced by Śukra (VII. 81. 1-15) his kingdom was buried deep in an ash-hill in a week (VII. 81. 17-18).

DANDAKA—A forest to which Rāma retired for fear of being disturbed by the citizens of Ayodhyā (I. 1. 40). There he killed Virādha and saw Agastya and other R̥sis (I. 1. 41). Being requested by the R̥sis promised to kill the Rākṣasas who haunted the forest (I. 1. 45). There he disfigured Śurpanakhā and killed 14000 Rākṣasas including Kharā.

and Duṣapa (I 1 46 48) Rāvana abducted Sīta from that place (I 1 53) Rāma's visit to that place foreseen by Valmīki (I 3 17) Situated in the Sonth (II 9 12) Kaikeyī proposed that Rāma should retire there in the garb of an ascetic (II 11 26 27) (II 18 33) Rāma consented to retire there for fourteen years (II 19 11) Rama spoke to Kausalya about his impending banishment there (II 20 30 31) Rāma's banishment there referred to by Kaikeyī (II 72 42) Rama etc entered (III 1 1) Its beautiful scenery described (III 8 12 15) Once Marica roamed about devouring the R̄sis (III 38 3) Viśvamitra's hermitage was there (III 38 12 13) Thence Marica was thrown into the sea situated at the distance of a hundred Yojanas by Rāma (III 38 19) Rāvana and Marica arrived in the vicinity of Rāma's hermitage (III 42 11 12) Lakṣmana ransacked it in search of Sītā in vain (III 61 23) Sugrīva asked Angada to go there in search of Sīta (IV 41 11) Called after Raja Danda, lying between the Vindhya and the Saivala hills (VII 81 18 19) Also called Jaoasthana (VII 81 20)

DANDIN—A door keeper of Surya, who carried Rāvana's message delivered by Prahasta to Sūrya and brought His reply (VII 23 (b) 8 14)

DADHIVAKTRA—A Vanara chief Lakṣmana passed by his richly decorated house at Kiśkindha (IV 33 1) Materoal uncle of Sugrīva who was in charge of the Madho Vaoa (V 61 9) मद्हवीर Roughly handled by the intoxicated Vanaras for trying to do his duty (V 61 20 24) हस्तिद्वयीर उप्रतेजा (V 61 21) When the guards reported the destruction of the forest at the hands of the Vānaras (V 6 17) attacked the intruders with a tree when Angada dashed him to the ground for his impudence (V 62 18 27) Taking counsel with his guards went to Sugrīva to report the fact

(V. 62. 28-38). Sugrīva having given him assurances (V. 63. 1-3) lodged a complaint against the Vānaras who had ravaged the preserved forest (V. 63. 4-12). मधुवानः (V. 63. 4). Taking his departure thence returned to Madhu Vana, begged of Abgada to excuse him and delivered Sugrīva's message (V. 64. 1-12). Son of Candra (VI. 30. 22). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73. 60). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39. 22).

DANŪ—A daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Kasyapa (III. 14. 10-11). Became the mother of Aśvagṛīva by favour of her husband (III. 14. 11-16). One of her sons was Kabandha (III. 71. 7).

DANTAVAKTRA—A courtier of Rāma who with light talks sought to divert his master (VII. 43. 2).

DAMAYANTI—Daughter of Bhīma; the devoted wife of Naisadha (V. 24. 12).

DARADAS, The—A country. Sugrīva asked Śātabala to ransack the towns in the north in search of Sītā (IV. 43. 12).

DARIMUKHA—A Vānara chief who in response to Sugrīva's call supplied 1000 kros of Vānaras (IV. 39. 24). दीमान् Joined Sugrīva with 10 kros of Vānaras (IV. 39. 36-37). Hurried on the Vānaras of the invading army during its march to the Sooth (VI. 4. 35). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39. 22).

DARDURAS, The—The breeze from those mountains blew to the hermitage of Bharadvāja (II. 91. 24).

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अनयानम्, 'without breathing between,' without interruption (as अनवानं गायति. See Vol. i),—198.

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अपः प्रणेष्यन्याचं यच्छ्रुति etc. ”,—750.

अपचय, ‘diminution’ (see उपचय) —106.

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अयमृत,—eupatory bath,—87—9, 191, 607, 707.

" अयमृथादगत्य यत्सत्वर्चं परिष्ठें ",—842

" अयरद्वा दिव जपलं यज्ञासम् ",—787.

अविद्वितेतिकर्तव्यताक,—120.
 " अवी द्वे धेनु ददाति etc.", —379.
 " अबृतः सामिधेनी रन्वाह ",—819.
 अवेष्टि (See vol. i),—773.
 " अशोतिशतमानेयं etc. " (Sloka),—490.
 " अशः श्यावो रुमललाटो दक्षिण " (cf. Āpast Sr. xxii. 6.
 9),—428—21—719.
 अश्वकर्ण,—313.
 अश्वधेनु,—58. (See धेनु)
 अश्वप्रतिप्रहेष्टि (See vol. i),—786.
 " अशशक्तेन क्रीणाति ",—813.
 अष्टका (See vol. i),—116—7.
 अष्टका चद,—55.
 अपूरात्र,—842.
 " अष्टा कपालः प्रातः सवने etc ",—525.
 " अष्टाक्षरेण प्रथमाया प्रात्यः प्रस्तौति ",—527.
 " अष्टाक्षरेण प्रथमायामृचि प्रस्तौति ",—198.
 " अष्टाक्षरेण प्रथमायामृचि प्रस्तौति etc."—719,721,755.
 अष्टावच्छ्यर्युदत्तरे विहारे हयोप्यासादयति etc.—317.
 असकृदृच्चनं शब्देनानुवच्छ्यमानमन्यमिव व्यपरिश्वति ",—317.
 असति न्याये लिङ्गमकारणम्,—58.
 असत्तिहिते हि स्वस्मिष्याये देवदत्तोयडदत्तमानमारोहति,—806.
 असेमपीच, one "who is not allowed to drink the Soma-
 juice (e.g. u Kṣattriya or Vaishva),—880.
 अवेमयाजिन्,—643—5.
 अस्तुतश्च (See स्तुतश्च in vol I),—501.
 अस्तिष्यष्ट,—362—370, 372.
 "अहतचासः परिघत्ते",—447.
 अहर्गता, a series of days,—63, 153, 435, 572, 574, 749, 753.
 अहीन (See vol i), 501, 566.
 अहीन (See vol i), 501, 566.
 अहुताद्, not an euer of the offerings (Kṣatriyas etc. See
 Ait. B V. VII. 19 and Eggeling's note on
 4.5.2.16),—881.

“ अहेतुनिध्यमन्तं मे गोपाय etc ” (TB I 1 10.3),—1889
 “ आकृतिमर्शि प्रयुजं स्वाहा etc.”,—७९ (TS. 4.1.9 1)
 “आकृत्यै प्रयुजेऽग्न्ये स्वाहा”—398, (TS. 1.2.2.1)
 आख्याविकार,—३-४—५.
 “आग्नावैत्येष्वं ..निर्वपेत् सरस्वत्यै etc,”—100, 164, 307, 309,
 711 (modified).
 “ आग्नावैत्येष्वं निर्वपेद्वीक्षिष्यमालः etc.’ (TS ५ ५ १ ४),—308,
 366, 813, 834
 “ आग्निमारुतदूर्घमतुयाजेष्वत्ति ”,—764, 838.
 “आग्नेय,—84.
 आग्नेयः पशुरसिद्धोमे अलववद्यः etc (See vol. i),—180.
 “आग्नेय कृष्णप्रीत्यालमेत् etc,”—699, 783 (cf. npast. XX.
 13, 12).
 “ आग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोति ”,—648 (T ३ २ २ ३ ३)
 “ आग्नेय ..निर्वपेद्वकाम ,”—612—13
 “ आग्नेयं पय ”,—85
 “ आग्नेया ग्रहा भवति ”,—472.
 “ आग्नेयी सुग्रहाण्या भवति ”,—175
 “ आग्नेये वैकृते पश्यो etc,”—239.
 “ आग्नेयेऽष्टाकपाला हिरण्य दक्षिणा ”,—773.
 आग्नेय (२००० vol i),—17, 46, 104, 497, 500, 506, 840
 “ आग्नेयादुगृहानि पेत्यशित्पू ”,—498, 500
 आग्नेयायणी कर्म,—55
 “ आधारमाधारत्यति ”,—606
 आचार्ये प्रोपिने आचार्यानी मवनामाचार्यः,—२५
 आजिस्त्, 'fighting or running for a prize' (MW),—582.
 आज्ञा होता (?),—119—3
 आज्यप,—473, 175
 “ आज्यभागाभ्यां प्रचर्य etc,’—653, 655
 “ आज्यभागो यज्ञि,”—१६, ३१८, ३१२,—३, ६०८
 “ आज्यभागो यज्ञि चशुता एव नान्तरेति ”,—३१०

" आज्यस्यैव चरुमभिपूर्य etc,"—330.
 " आज्यस्यैव नाशुपांशु पौर्णमास्यां यजन्,—650,653,658.
 " आज्याधर्मचां घसां जुहोति,"—295,297.
 " आज्यैः स्तुवते etc ,”—193.
 " आतिथं निरवदन etc ,”—604.
 " आतिथ्येष्टि, ' guest—offering ' to Soma (vol 1),—40.7.
 " आदित्यः प्रायणीयः पयसि चरुः ",—283, 329 and 738
 omit पयसि. Cf. Apast X. 4.4.
 " आदित्यं धूते चरुं निर्वपेत् etc ",—125.
 " आदित्यो यूपः," said of the *glittering* yūpa after it has
 been oiled,—624.

आदिमत्तादोषो घेदस्य,—142
 आधानिक, concerned with the laying of sacred fire,—874.
 आधूननाथां मन्त्राः,—486.
 आपराग्निक होम,—726.
 आपेक्षिक, ' relative ',—413,686.
 आभापान्तं सुघम्,—16,37,230,697,707,730,764.
 आभिचारिक, ' malevolent ' (as the इषु and श्येन sacri-
 fices),—11.
 " आमनमस्य etc " (TS.2.3 9 3),—442.
 आमनहोम (See vol 1),—442.
 आमिक्ता (ditto),—94,95
 आम्न (यथा ' अयमाम्नो यजदत्तस्य पुञ्चः ', यथा ' माम्नेपुञ्चवाद .'),—38.
 आयुराशिस् (in Sūtra),—37 4—4
 " आयुर्दा अग्ने असि आयुर्मै देदि ",—560 (TS.1.5.5.3).
 आरण्यमोजन,—815.
 " आरंभणीया (इषि),—164,307,309,831 (See Index to Jhā's
 Prabh. Mīmā.).
 आरादुपदारक,—134, 312, 466. 167 (distinguished from
 सामयायिक)

आत्मिक्य, pertains to Brāhmaṇas only, and not to Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas,—879.

आर्थपत्य, lordship over things,—139.

आथर्वकाल (See वहिष्पवमान in Index to vol i),—763—4.

‘आथर्वे प्रस्तूयमाने etc.’,—371 (Apast. xxii. 7. 24; Tāṇḍya xvii. 12. 5).

आवाप, repetition of something, as of the अनुलेपन of each of a number of Brāhmaṇas—(opp. of तन्त्र),—661.

आवापिक, ‘additional’, ‘interested’,—466—7.

आवापोदाप,—453, 661.

आवाहनयत् (in सूत्रा),—781.

“आवृत्तं धूर्षु स्तुवते etc.”,—485, 490, 494

“अवृत्तंपृष्ठं पडहमुपयन्ति,—548.

आशितं भव ‘that wh: satisfies,’ ‘satiety,’ (Pāṇini iii 2. 45),—413

आशिर, milk mixed with Soma juice (See Vedic Index),—760—1.

“आशीर्मिः प्रस्तरं प्रहरति”,—748.

आश्रये प्रधर्तमाने तदाभितमपि प्रधर्तते (e.g. if a piece of cloth is moved the figuring on it moves also),—81.

“आश्राययेति चतुरक्षरमस्तु etc.”,—620 (TS. I. 6 11. 1).

“आधुत प्रत्याश्र्यते अजैदग्निः”,—796.

“आश्रयधालः प्रस्तरः”,—388 (Apast. x. 39 3., TS. vi. 2 1. 5)

“आश्रियनं प्रहं गृह्णाति” (Sat. ipa. iv. 25.12),—90, 711 and 837 (गृहीत्या etc.) Cf. TS. vi. 2. 7. 1. 2.

“आश्रियनाप्रान् गृहीयादामयाश्रिनः etc.”—512, 514, 515—16.

“आसारितकं गायति” (?),—26, 28.

“आसीत सूर्येन सूक्तस्याश्रिच्छेदाय”,—572.

“आसोमं घटन्ति etc.” (TS. vi 1. 11. 6),—318—9.

आस्त्रन्दपालिशायत् (?),—820.

"आस्ये इन्द्रायृहस्पती etc",—862.

"आहवनीयादुलमुकेन पश्चं पर्यभिकरोति",—13.

"आदिताद्विमस्त्रिमिर्द्वन्ति यज्ञपात्रैष्व" (See Vol i),—759

"आ हिमवत् आ च कुमारीभ्य (from Himalaya to Cape Comorin),—230, 256, 326, 328.

"आहुतिभिरिव हुतादो देवान्प्रीणाति" (हुताद् = offering-eating),—139.

"आहोपुरुषिक,—802.

"इडानिगद,—172.

"इडान्ता आतिष्या सन्तिष्ठते etc",—601-2, 783

"इडासुपह्रयति" (TS. ii. 6 7 3),—600.

"इडेरन्ते हृष्णे etc", (O Idā, blithesome, adorable etc ; Egeling on Satap. iv. 5 8 10 ; VS viii. 43),—414.

"इडोपहृता"—172.

"इदं यामास्ये हविः प्रिये etc",—862. Apast. Sr. vii. 26 3

"इदं पितॄगुर्विचकमे etc",—651, 809.

"इदं स्तनं मधुमन्तं धृष्टायाम् etc, ",—751

"इदं स्तुतं शाकः etc, ",—339, 377, 395.

"इदं दधि धृतं शाकः etc, ",—347.

"इदं व्रह्मण् इदं होतुः etc, "—347.

"इन्द्रं स्तुहि यज्ञिणम् etc," (TB ii. 8. 4. 1),—349 Satap. iii. 3. 4 18.

"इन्द्रा गच्छ द्वरि य आगच्यु etc, "—175

"इन्द्राय पञ्चिणे यूपमालमेत्",—319.

"इन्द्रो दिव इन्द्र ईर्षे पृथिव्याम् etc, "—139, 145 (RV. x 89. 10).

"इन्द्रा वृत्राणि जिपते, "—138, 143, (RV viii. 17 8)

"इमं यज्ञमवान्येय यज्ञपर्वति धर्मनि",—174.

"इमं यज्ञमवान्येय यज्ञपर्वति धर्मनि",—174.

"इमे हतोममहाते जातवेदसं etc " (RV. i. 94. 1),—435

"इमे चिदिन्द्र रोदसी etc" (RV viii. 30. 5),—139, 143

"इष्टं घा अदितिः etc, "—125

“इयं तौस्तया तं क्रीणामि etc,”—178 (Mānav Sr. Sūtra,
 so Bloomfield)
 “इरापद (See Tandya viii 6 9 10),—183, 851
 “इरामह यजमाने ददानि”,—187.
 “इषु, name of a Sacrifice held, like the श्येन, for malevo-
 lent purposes (आभिच्छारिक) and deriving from it (by
 अतिदेश) some of its accessories,—11. (Āpast. 22
 7. 17)
 “इपे त्वेति छिनत्ति”,—853
 “इष हि विदुपा लोके समासव्यासधारणम्” (the 2nd line of a
 sloka),—71
 “इष्टकाभिरग्नि चिनुते”,—156 7 (Āpast Sr. vii 21 7)
 “इष्टि, an oblation of butter etc, as opposed to a Soma-
 or animal sacrifice,—73
 “इष्टिवत् (in Sutri),—764
 “ईजाना बहुभिर्यजै• etc (1 verse),—837
 “ईशान स्वर्णश तस्थुप ”,—532 (See RV vii 32 22)
 “ईशानमस्य जगत् etc ” (RV vii 32 22),—139, 507
 “ईशानय परस्वत आलभेत्,”—293 4 (VS xxiv 28)
 “ईश्वरं वे रथन्तरमुद्रातुञ्चक्षु etc,”—528.
 “उक्त्या गृह्णाति पोडशिनम्”,—498
 “उक्त्यो वेरूपसामा etc (Vol 1),—589
 “उत्तय (See Vol 1),—870 874
 “उम्राणि ह वा एतानि श्रीणि हृषीणि etc”,—705
 “उच्चूयस घनस्पते,—858
 “उच्चिति (See Vol 1, also Ts 1 6 4 1, and Sāyaṇa on
 1 7. 11 1),—457
 “उत्कर (See Index to Jha),—395
 “उत्करे धाजिनमासाद्यति etc,’—395 (Āpast Sr viii 2 11)
 उत्कर्प (Vol 1),—764, 767.
 “उत्तम प्रयात् etc,”—314

"उत्तरार्धांतसहृदयति,"—684
 उत्तरावत् ('like the milking of the last cows'),—670-1.
 "उत्तरेऽहन् दिरान्नस्य गृहते" (cf. Apast., xxii. 14. 14). See
 Madhava.

"उदन्तीरोजोधचे" (?),—792.
 "उदयनीयोऽतिरात्रः",—96, 98.
 उद्धरामये पर्यः पातव्यम्,—8.
 उद्धवसानीयेष्टि (Vol. i),—355.
 "उदु त्यं जातवेदसम् etc" (RV.1.50.1),—84 (Āpast. SRV.
 xvi. 26. 1. 3).
 "उदुम्बरमुल खलम् etc,"—679.
 "उद्भीथो या पत्तर्हि etc, "—221.
 "उद्भीयमा इरा चा दाक्षासा",—186,
 "उद्भिदा यजेत्,—677 (Āpast. xxii 11. 19).
 उष्टा, to be blown out, extinguished (also उद्धान),—278-9.
 उपग, —443.
 उपचय, 'addition' (opp of अप्य),—106.
 "उपनयत मेध्यादुर आशासाना",—180 (Ait. Br. 11.6.1; Āś.—
 val. 3.3.1).

उपसमन्त्र, —793.
 "उपरिषात्सोमानां प्राजापत्यैश्वरन्ति",—763.
 "उपवर्ती रथन्तरपृष्ठस्य प्रतिपदं कुपात्",—508.
 उपवर्णन 'description',—696
 उपवाद, 'censure',—629.
 "उपवीता या एतस्याङ्गयो भवन्ति",—629.
 "उपवेष्टवत् (vol 1),—760.
 "उपवेष्टेण कपालान्युपदधाति",—659.
 "उपशयो यूपो भवति",—49 Name of the 12th sacrificial
 post, so Garbe; See Śālap. 3.7.2 1 and TS. 6 6.4.4.
 उपसर्जन, any word wh: by composition or derivation
 loses its original independence while it determines

the sense of another word , secondary, subordinate,—116

उपहृव्योऽ निष्कर्ता etc,'—427

उपाशुयाज (vol 1),—87,89,650

"उपांशुयाजमन्तरा यजति"—650, 654, 656, 658 (TS 2 6 6 4)

उपास्थित्व (in Sutra),—83

उपोद्धरणक, —88

उपोषण, 'fasting',—73

उपास्मे गायता नर "—181

उभयतोदन्त (vol 1),—414

उभयसामा क्रतु,—508, 544

" उभयीर्जुहोत्याद्विकीश्वाध्वरिकीश्व ",—401

उपयोद्दिष्टिणा ददाति etc"—403

"उमे युद्धयन्तरे कुर्यात्",—508 R V I 218 , Satyap 4 4 5 4

"उरुं हि राजा वृषेष्वकार etc",—274

उरुकम (विष्णु), 304, 306.

"उरु प्रथस्वेति पुरोडाश प्रथयति",—816

"उरुप्रथा उरुप्रथस्वोरुते यज्ञपति प्रथताम् etc,"—826, 335
(VS 1 22 , Satyap 1 2 2 8

" उरु घिष्ठो विक्रमस्व,"—275 (AV 7 26 ३ , TS 1 3 1 1)

उरुक (in Sutra) Its meaning is discussed—273 (Ait B II 7 , TB 3 6 6 4)

उरु है देवाना यज्यानुवाक्य etc ",—862

उपासानका 'night an I down',—32 (RV 1 123 2, etc)

उखा, उस्त्रिया etc, synonyms of मो (Nimbantu 2 11,
vol 1 229),—462

" उखायै घपायै मेदसोऽनुश्रुहि ',—463

" ऊद सस्तुते पा पते पर्यणी ',—43

" ऊद पा पतौ यडस्य etc",—43

" ऊर्णप्रदस त्या स्तृणामि,—787, 821 (VS 1 2 ऊर्णप्रदस =
soft as wool See ऊर्णि in Vedic Index)

"ऊर्ध्वा या अन्ये पक्ष कतवः सम्बिद्धन्ते ",—502.

"ऊर्ध्वोऽध्वरः ",—392 (VS. u.8 ; Satap. 1.4.5.3)

"ऊर्ध्वोऽध्वरो दिविसपृश्महूतः etc",—394.

कह, 'modification'—in respect of मन्त्र, सामन्, or संस्कार कह, when there is a transference from an original to a modified sacrifice, 129, 133.

ऋग्मन्त्र, N. of 3rd hymn book of Sāma Veda,—189.

ऊद्दिशन्द is used of a गीति and not of a प्रहृष्ट, —29.

"ऊद्दिश्यकीर्पितः ",—190.

"प्रूपसामोयाच मिथुनीसंभवायेति ",—197, 528.

"प्रूपचा स्तुवते etc",—394

"प्रूपचि साम गायति",—192 (Satap. 8.1.3.3 has गीषते)

प्रूपीज (vol 1),—572, 574, 759

"प्रूपीजमप्सु प्रास्यति",—572, 759 (प्रहरति)

"प्रूपुमाधारयति etc",—145.

प्रूपत वै सोमोऽनृतं पश्यतः etc",—429.

प्रूपतेय, N. of an El. liba,—429, 431

"प्रूपतिगाचार्यो नातिचरितव्यो" (See अतिचर),—361, 758.

"प्रूपतिग्रन्थो दक्षिणां ददाति",—347—8.

"प्रूपतिज उपगायति",—78.

"प्रूपम् घाजिनं यथं पूर्णमासं यजामहे" (Apast. 2.20.5),—231.

"एकं सामरुचे क्रियते",—195.

एकत्रिक, N. of an El. liba "sacrifice",—482

"एकधा घलणे परिदृश्यति",—344

"एकधाऽग्न्य त्यचमान्द्यपतात्",—254 (TB 4.6.6.2. आच्युष्यता तात्=द्विषां पुरुषः, Siyan).

"एकत्या प्रतिधापिष्ठत्साकं सरांसि त्रिशतम्" R V VIII 77.4
Th n Indra at a single drought drank the contents of 80 pail. (Griffith),—139.

"एकत्रिशतिमनुव्रयात् etc.",—491 (TS 2.5.10.2).

एकधिष्ठेनातिरात्रेण प्रजाकामं यजायेत् etc,—452, 487—9.

“एकादश्यनो गौर्दक्षिणा तं सद्वेष्याय दद्यात्”,—361.

“एकादश प्रयाजानेकादशानुयाजान्” (TS.6.3 7.5 1.6 3.11.6),—74, 385.

“एकादश यूपान् धिनत्ति,”—715.

“एकादश वैतानि पशोरवदानानि”,—580.

एकादशसु प्रदीपेषु तैलष्टर्तिसंपन्नेष्वेकरिमन् गृहे महान्त्रकाशो भवति etc,—833.

एकादशिनी, a group of 11 yūpas (See Satap. 3. 7. 2. 1),—49, 68, 7, 5 seems to be parts of a Sacrifice, 261, 312.

“एका दीक्षा तिस्रा उपसदः”,—834.

“एकादेया etc. (Āpast XIX. 2, 8),—91.

“एका या अस्योचमा स्तोत्रीया etc ”,—198.

“एकीयमर,—698 एकाहे उभे वृहद्वथन्तरे कुर्यात् ”,

एकेन छुते कर्मणि द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगोऽनर्थकः,—855.

“एको द्वौ यद्योऽपि या अहोनेन यज्ञेन”,—96.

“एतत्खलु साक्षाद्वाप् etc.”,—294.

“एतद्व्राह्मण ऐन्द्राग्नः etc.”,—14.

“एतयैवाचार्य काम याजयेत् ”,—773-4

“एतस्यैव रेवतीषु वारवन्तीयमन्तिष्ठोमसाम छत्वा ”,—645, 735

“एते अस्त्रमिन्दवः etc” RV IX 62 1), ‘there [Soma | drops have been poured etc ’,—245

“एतेन राजपुरोहितौ सायुज्यकामौ यजेयाताम् ”,—350.

“एते घदन्ति शशन्त इति” (RV X 94 2),—143

“एतेषां राष्ट्रभूतो ज्ञातेनि etc ” (cf Pāraskura Gṛihya 1.5.7.)

“एथमेव प्रसङ्ग स्यात् etc ”,—661, 797

एव दण्ड इष्टकाकृटे तिष्ठति प्रहरानेन,—312

“एव ये कुण्डप्रस्ति यः सत्रे प्रतिगृह्णानि ”,—550

“एव ये दशमस्याहो विसर्गः ”,—553.

“एव ये दर्शपूर्णमासयोरत्यभूय ”,—37—8.

“एव प्रजापति भूतदशः etc ”,—610.

" एपा वै प्रतिष्ठिता युद्धती etc. ",—205.

" एपोऽसि ",—860—1.

ऐककर्त्त्य,—664, 667.

" ऐकादशिनाः प्रायणीयो दयनीयो यो रुदिरा व्रयो रालमेत् ",—535, 537.

" ऐकादशिन्यामन्वहमेकैकमालमेत् ",—537.

" ऐकादशिन्यामन्वहमेत् " (cf. TS. 2. 2.1.1.),—612.

" ऐन्द्र ऐकादशकपालं निर्वपेत्रजाकामः " (cf. TS. 7. 2. 7. 1.)

" ऐन्द्रवायवं गृह्णाति etc. ",—578.

" ऐन्द्रवायवस्यैन्द्रवायवाप्रान् ग्रहन गृह्णीयात् ",—511 (cf. TS. 1. 3),—517, 519, 520, 524.

" ऐन्द्रवायवस्य घा पतदायतनं यच्चतुर्थमहः ",—579.

" ऐन्द्रवायवाग्रं प्रथममहः etc. ",—521.

" ऐन्द्रवायवाप्रो प्रायणीयो दयनीयो etc ",—(Apast. xxi. 14 1. 3),—517, 519, 520, 524.

" ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपाल इन्द्राय वृश्चष्टे etc. ",—16.

" ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेत् प्रजाकामः " (TS. 2. 2. 1. 1),—73, 234, 674.

" ऐन्द्राग्नमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेत्यस्य भजाता धीयुः ",—61

" ऐन्द्राग्नो द्वादशपालो मारुत्यामिक्षा " (cf. TS 1. 8 3),—16, 74.

" ऐन्द्रामयभूय साम गायति ",—219.

" ऐरं कृत्वो दुगोयम् " (Tāndya 8. 6. 10),—183.

ऐरवत्,—272, 850.

ऐटिक, relating to an ईटि,—71.

ऐटिक पाण्डुकसौमिकद्वार्चिदैमिकानि,—741.

" ओद्वानुद्वरति ",—690.

" ओषधित्येय पश्चतिष्ठापयति ".—477

शौकियम्, " गानशाल्य belonging to the Aukthikas, singers of the Uktikas,—22.

ओत्पत्तिक, ' eternal ',—22, 32, 110, 378, 412.

" ओदुम्यरः सेमचमसो दक्षिणा ",—129, 431.

" औदुम्यरी॒ स्पृष्टा etc. ",—194.
 औदुम्यरी॒ समानं शुक्रान्वारंभणम्,—362.
 " औदुम्यरे यूपो भवति ",—75, 470—1, 614.
 औपासन, the fire used for domestic worship,—324.
 " कहै॑ स्तवत् etc. ",—(R.V. vi. 47. 15),—393.
 क उ तु ते महिमनः etc. (RV. x. 54. 8),—394.
 ककुम्, a bullock's hump,—582.
 " ककुमो राजपुत्रः प्राञ्चाति ध्रुवगोपः ",—(Apost. xxiii. 7. 9
 hus ककुदेह),—582.
 " कंकचितं चिन्धीत शीर्षचितं चिन्धीत ",—639.
 कंकटकाय दधं, नापिताय दधम् (दधशब्दो भागधेयथवनः
 Sabira),—642.
 " करवरथन्तरं पृष्ठं भवति ",—227, 469.
 कलापवत् (in *Sūtra*), 320—1.
 कपिङ्गलन्पाप,—60, 685.
 कम्बल,—12, 13.
 " क्षयानशिष्ठ आशुद्यो वा ",—21, 189 (R.V. iv. 31. 1; SV. i.
 169, ii 32).
 करणमद्व (See vol. i),—855—6.
 कर्मकर, earns a padika daily as wages (See *Mahabhasya*
 1. 3. 72),—413.
 कर्मफलयोः सम्बन्धे कर्म गुणतः फलं प्रधानतः,—53.
 " कलया ते कोणामि ",—733. Also on pp. 189, 190, 219.
 " कवतीपु रथन्तरं गायति ",—19—21, 30 (See *Sāyana* on
 Tāndya vii. 8. 3, in which the word कवतीपु occurs
 and is explained by कश्यद्वैपेनामु, *Ka* being *Projñāpati*).
 कश्यादिनो रथाः (where *Sabirī* gives मेदस् as equivalent
 of कश ?),—275.
 कथितुज्यने अनुपाकत्रिः पठपतामिति, दण्डकलितयदसौ पठपते,—
 522.
 " क्षायमपदन्ति etc.",—680.

"कस्त्वा युनकि etc.",—828
 "कस्मै देवाय द्विषया विधेम",—393 (R.V.X.121.1 ; T8.iv 1.
 3.4 etc.)

कांस्यमोजियत,—840.

कांजिका, sour gruel,—95.

काएडवीणा, a kind of lute,—445 (Lātyāyana iv.5.5)

कात्यायन (compared with Pāṇini),—623.

कामशास्त्र (in sūtra),—512.

कामुकायन, N. of an achārya,—195. 697.

कामेष्टि (in Sūtra),—360.

"काय एककपालः",—16, 45 (काय=devoted to Ku—Prajā-
 pati, Satap. 2.5.2.13).

कालाभीज्या,—(See यदभीज्या),—230.

"कालेभ्यो भवति मासो देवता संवत्सरे देवता",—(Smṛiti),—454.

"काशिकेषु शालयो भुज्यन्ते गावः पीयन्ते" (गावः=milk.
 M. W.),—171.

काष्ठपूलक, a bundle of wood,—156.

काष्ठवाह, 'a wood carrier' (?),—349, 416.

काष्ठान्याद्यतुं प्रस्थिते पुक्षे शाकादरणमध्युपाधिः क्लियेत etc.",—867.

कुण्डपायिनामयन, 31, 93-9, 155 (Apast. Sr. XXIII.
 10.6. See कौण्ड०). See Kunḍapāyīn in Vedic Index.

"कुण्डपायिनामयनेऽत्सर्वकैषमसैः सोमन्तमघ्यन्ति",—352.
 (Tāṇḍya XXV.4.4. See अत्सर्वः)

"कुमाराण्य न पयो लभेत्",—691.

कुम्भीवत्,—(in Sūtra),—786.

कृद्,—'homeless'.

कृतारंभणीयाक, 'that has performed the *ārambhaṇīyā*'
 —166.

कृत्याचिन्ता,—180, 181, 182, 365, 370, 432, 599, 600, 751, 827,
 839, 857.

कृषिवत् (in Sūtra),—675.

“कृषिपु स्याम कृपः”, described as करण्डयनार्थो मन्त्रः,—791.

कृष्णलः, grains of gold (to be used instead of rice-grains on certain occasions; See Jha's *Prabh. M*; p. 231),—301—2.

कृष्णल होम (See 'प्रयाजे प्रयाजे'),—7.

“कृष्णविपाण्या करण्डयति”,—748 (TS.vi 1 3.8)

“कृष्णविपाण्या वासांसि विलंसयति” (cf. Āpast. Sr. XVII.16.9),—447.

“कृष्णशीर्षा आग्नेयः”,—75.

“कृष्णाजिनेत विघस्य दक्षिणां ददाति” (cf. Āpast. Sr. 13.5. 11, and see तुयोवो *infra*),—416

कोप, 'contradiction', 'stultification' (See Brahmasūtra 2.1.26),—411.

कौण्डपायिनामयन,—58,70,90,807 (See कुण्ड०).

“कौण्डसं भवति फाएवं भवति etc ”,—448—9, 450.

कतुवत् (in Sūtra),—666.

क्षीरेण भुजा क्षीरेण्य भुजीत,—645.

खलि, sediment of oil, oil-cup (M.W. on authority of a कोश),—333.

खले कपोतवद्युगपत्सन्निपतन्त्यद्वानि,—674

खले धाली,—a post on a threshing floor for binding oxen etc,—311, 314, 383.

“ खलेवाली यूपो भवति,”—311, 381, 836 (Tāndya xxii. 13 8).

“ खादिरं धीर्यकामाय यूपं कुर्याव”,—81—2.

“ खादिरे वधाति etc,”—742.

“ खादिरो यूपो भवति”,—609.

गणाय स्नानं गणायानुलेपनम्,—664.

तथी,—‘who has obtained fortune or prosperity’,— (=ग्रासथी, so com. on Kāty. Sr. IV. 300),—280, 875.

“ गन्धर्वांस्तसो या पतमनुमादयन्ति ”—(TS. 3. 4. 8. 4),—10.

गर्ग निराच (Apast. Sr. 22. 15. 1),—48.

गवामयन (See Vol i),—34, 45, 63, 78, 520, 521—2.

गवेशुक यवाग्,—‘rice·gruel boiled with coix barbata (MW),—625—6.

“ गात्रं गात्रमस्या नूनं कणुतात् ”—277, (TB. 3. 6. 6. 3).

“ गायत्रेतद्वर्षते ”,—106.

“ गायत्रं प्रथममहः etc. ”,—486.

“ गायत्रो भव्यसः परिधिः etc. ”,—525.

“ गायत्र्या परिदध्यात् ”,—112.

“ गवेण वा पत्तसप्रमासत् ”,—178.

गीति, defined,—212.

गुणकामा:—‘accessories and desires’,—81.

गुणेदन्ता विकार,—426.

“ गुणेनोपयजति प्राणो वै गुदः ”,—864.

“ गृहपतिर्गृहपतिः etc ” (Apast. 23—10. 12),—99.

गृहपतिवत्,—(in Sūtra),—563.

“ गृहपति सप्तदशः स्थायमुचितो ग्रावणाः सत्रमुपेषुः ” (with the गृहपति as the 17th),—76, 99.

गृहमेधीय, —599, 609.

गो,—*sāṅk s; unonyma* quoted, उद्धा etc.,—152.

“ गोदोहनेन प्रणयेत्पशुकामस्य ” (Apast. Sr. 1. 16. 3),—81.

गोषेनु ‘ a cow ’ (MW. gives this word on lexical authority only. See षेनु *infra*),—58.

“ गोमिनाभ्यां क्रोलाति ”,—863.

गोमगुलय ‘made of bdelium’ (*an unguent*),—445—6.

“ गोमगुलवेन प्रातः सवने सगंजते ”—(Tāndya xxiv. 13—4),—145.

“ गोरनुयन्त्योऽज्ञेऽपार्णियोमीयः ”,—162.

“ गीत्यित मन्यहं भयति ” 64 (See Apast. xiv. 18. 6. etc).

“ गीतं पदा प्रष्टयः ”,—3.

गीरगुलय, ‘ made of ledellium,’—801 (See गीरगुलय)—

“ गौशाश्वश, तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणा ”—347, 353—4,407,
417—8, 419

“ प्रह वा गृहीत्वा चमसं घोनीय etc ”,—223,502.

“ प्रह समाप्ति ”,—440

“ प्रामकाम सत्याजयेत् ”,—363

‘ प्रामकामाय प्रतिपद कुर्यात् ’,—81

प्रामेषोदपान स्वेय etc,—664

प्राहक, ‘ partaker ’, ‘ sharer ’,—40—1, 45

घनीभावयितुम्, घनीभूत,—95 (TS 6 2 2 4)

“ घृत वे देवा घञ्च कृत्वा सोममध्न् etc ”,—72

घृतव्रतौ भवत,—761 (TS 6 2 10 5)

“ घृतेन यावापृथिवी आपृण etc ”,—121 637 (आपृषेथाम्)

“ घृते श्रपयति ”,—88, 302, 337

“ चक्षुपी या एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ ” —(TS 2 6 2 1),—391

“ चतुरवधु जुहोति ”,—639, 642

“ चतुरहे शुत्यामागच्छ मध्यन् ”,—732

“ चतुरो मुष्टी निर्बपति ”—576, 789

“ चतुर्ये चतुर्येऽहन्यहीनस्य गृहते ”,—(cf Apast xxii 14
15),—504

“ चतुर्दश पौर्णमास्यामाहुतयो हयन्ते ”,—650, 655, 674, 681,
695 708

“ चतुर्मिरादते etc ” —855—6 of Apist Sr xviii 1 1

“ चतुर्विशति परमा सत्रमासीरन् ”,—506

“ चतुर्होत्रा पौर्णमासीमभिमृषेत् etc ”,—(cf Apist Sr ii
11 5),—82, 146

“ चतुर्ख्यशद्वाजिनो देववन्ध्यो etc ”,—271 (RV 1 162 18,
TS 2 3 2 2)

“ चत्वारि चत्वारि लृप्तलान्यदद्यति ”,—328, 338, 341

“ चत्वारि त्रिवृन्ति अहानि etc ”,—101 (Apast xvii 23 9)

“ चत्वारि चा एतानि देवदधानि अवदानानि etc ”, 641 (See
वेषदधे)

" चात्यारोऽभिस्थाः etc.",—550.

चक्र, various meanings proposed, the one adopted being ओदन्, for which see note at bottom of p. 328,—325—30.

चातुर्मास्य (See vol. i and Apast. Sr. viii. 4. 12, xxii. 8. 1),—14.

" चातुर्मास्यानां यज्ञं प्रत्यूनां पंचत्विजः ",—723.

" चातुर्मास्यानि चातुर्मास्यैः स्वर्गकामो यजेत् ",—385.

" चातुर्मास्ये प्राचीन प्रवणे दैश्वदेवेन यजेत् ",—(Apast. viii. 1. 5),—701.

" चातुर्मास्यैः स्वर्गकामो यजेत्,—473, 708, 720.

" चात्याले कृष्णविपाणी प्रास्यति " (See vol. i),—736. (TS. 2. 4. 6. 1)

" चित्रया यजेत् पशुकामः ",—235

चित्रा, N. of an इष्टि,—89, 381.

" छन्दांसि वा अन्योन्यस्य लोकमग्निध्यायन्ति etc.",—524.

" छन्देगा धृत्वृचाशचैव etc.",—(a verse defining भाष्यिक स्वर),—850.

" छागस्य घपाया मेदसोऽनुवृद्धि ",—462—3.

" छान्दसाः, students of a Veda,—189. (They hold that a Sāman is a mantra set to music—प्रगीतं मध्याकर्यं साम)."

" जगतीं वै छन्दांसि प्रत्यवरोहन्ति, etc.",—522.

जगत्सामन्,—(See vol i) It is declared that in the whole Sāmaveda there is no Sāman named Jagat,—506—7.

" जगृभ्मा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम् ",—(RV. X 47.1),—138, 142.

जनक सप्तरात्र,—N. of a Septūba sacrifice (Apast. Sr. 22. 23.5),—101.

जप,—defined as व्यक्तार्थी धाचि, with examples,—560—1.

जपसंस्कार,—365.

जयाः,—N. of certain formularies causing victory (TS. iii 4.4 and Pāraskara Grīhya I.5.7—9),—21.

जर्तिलयचागू,—‘juice of dried Sesamam’,—625—6.

‘जर्तिलयचाग्यावा जुहुयात्,—etc”,—do—(TS.V 4.3.2.)—

जलवुद्धुदवत्,—310.

“जायन्या पत्नोः संयाजयन्ति”,—866 (See vol i).

जामि—सादृश्य,—657.

जामितादोप,—489 (“किमिदमविकारइति । अपुनर्वचनं तत्र जामिता-
दोयो न भविष्यति । अभ्यासे हि स स्पात् ”,—Sabara).

“जामि वा पतद्यजस्य क्रियते यदन्वज्ञौ पुरोडाशौ, etc,”—654,656,
659 (T8.2.6 6.4, and see vol i).

“जामि वा पतद्यजस्य क्रियते यदेव भूयः क्रियेत”,—489.

जायात्य,—528. (In the same passage on p. 197 the reading
is जायाथ्येः)

“ज्ञपन्तां युज्यं पयः,”—95.

“ज्ञहूपा वा एतहि वाग्मवति,—etc.”,—435.

“जन्मावसुरूरसि,” (?),—835.

जैमिनि,—(in Sūtra),—103,221,803.

“ज्योतिरेव पुरस्तादधाति”,—34.

“तं वै प्रोहद्रानस्य योऽसि”—352.

“ततः संघत्सर्वे उस्थीनि याजयेत् (Āpast XIV.22.12),—362,
369

तत्रभवानामाचारात्तेषां स्मृतेः थ्रुतिः,—326.

तदादि प्रभवा पश्यतः स्युः”,—68

VII—GLEANINGS FROM THE TANTRAS BY GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

(I)

The Ten Mahāvidyās.

In the Tantrik Literature the Mahāvidyās are usually enumerated as ten. But the number is sometimes increased by three and sometimes by six*. The Mundamālā Tantra (Paṭala I) names the ten Mahāvidyās, thus—(1) Kāli, (2) Tīrū, (3) Śoḍasi, (4) Bhuvanesvari, (5) Bhairavī, (6) Chhinnamastā, (7) Dhamāvati, (8) Vagalā, (9) Mātangi and (10) Kamalā. This list is also found in the Chāmuṇḍā Taotra as well as in the Toḍala Tantra. There appear to be slight differences of opinion in the various Tantras in regard to the names of the Bhairavas of these Mahāvidyās. These names, as given in the Toḍala Tantra, are—(1) Mahākāla, (2) Akōbhya, (3) Siva (three-eyed and five-faced), (4) Tryambaka, (5) Dakṣināmṛti (five-faced), (6) Kavandha (Siva), (7) none, (8) Ekavaktra (=Mahārudra), (9) Matanga Siva (=Dakṣināmṛti) and (10) Viśnu (=Sadāśiva). It may be noted that Dhomāvati being a widow has no Bhairava† and the first Bhairava, named Mahākāla, is attached to Dakṣiṇā, a type of Kāli. But in the Saktisangama Tantra the names of the Bhairavas under (3), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8) appear respectively as—Lahitevara (=Tripura Bhairava), Mahideva, Vaṭuka, Viśvarūpa (=Kroḍha Bhairava), Kala Bhairava, (=Ghora) and Mṛtyuñjaya.

* The list of the Mundamālā Tantra being taken as standard, the three and six additional names which occur in the Sammohana Tantra are—(i) Chālevari, Laghu Śyāma and Tripurā, and (ii) Vanadurgā, & list, Avāruṇhi, Trilokyavijaya, Varchi and Annapūri.

† This is according to Toḍala Tantra, but the Sakti Sangama names the Bhairava as Kāla.

The Vidyās may be thus classified in order of the Āmnaya :

(1) *The Eastern Āmnaya :*

(i) Śrī Vidyā (with all its varieties), Bhuvaneśvari, Tārā, Tripurā Bhairavī. (ii) Bhuvaneśvari, Lalitā, Aparājītā, Pūrṇesī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Vāgī, Annapūrṇā, Jayā.

(2) *The Southern Āmnaya :*

(i) Vagalāmukhī, Mahālakṣmī and Balā Bhairavī. (ii) Dakṣinākālī, Bbadrakālī. (iii) Dakṣinākālī, Vagalā, Chhinnā, Bhadrā, Tārā, Mātangi and Nisēśī.

(3) *The Western Āmnaya :*

(i) Kubjikā, Kulālikā, Mātangi and Amṛtā Lakṣmī.

(4) *The Northern Āmnaya :*

(i) Kālī and Tārā with some varieties, Bhairavī, Chhinnamastā, Dhumāvati and Mātangi. (ii) Guhyakālī, Dhumrā, Kāmakalā Kālī, Mahākālī, Maṭā Śmaśāna Kālī, Kapālinī, Kāla Sankarśini, Chhinnā, Mahābbima Sarasvatī, Mabarātri, three kinds of Tārā, Yogesi, Siddhi Lakṣmī and Siddhi Bhairavi.

(5) *The Upper Āmnaya :*

(i) Kāmeśvari, Lalitā, Bālā, Mahā Tripurasundari and Tripurā Bhairavī.

(6) *The Lower (अधर) Āmnaya :*

(i) Vajrayogini, Panhagi, Nairṛtiśvari and Bhimī.

(a) Kālī

Regarding the origin of Kālī, which is described in the Tantras (cf Purascharyārnava) as the chief of all the Mahāvidyās, different accounts are available. According to the Svatastra Tantra, quoted in the Prāpatośini, she appeared in the city of Avanti on the day of Mahārātri, i.e. on the dark eleventh of the month of Phālguna. She is often identified with Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa and

with Pārvatī, the daughter of Menakā. Viśvamitri's attainment of Brahmanhood is said to be consequent on Her Grace*. The Mandamālā Tantra identifies Kālī with Krṣṇa and Śodasi. It is not proper to enter here into a detailed study of the very close relation existing, from the cultural view-point, between Krṣṇa and Śodasi. What concerns us here is that the Vidyas Kālī and Śodasi too are similarly connected. The Prāqatoṣinī (p 724) gives a vision of the story of Kālī's conversion into Sundari or Śodasi. It is said that once on a certain day Indra deputed a certain number of Apsarasas to Siva in Kailāsa but he sent them on to Kali in Kalipura and betook himself to that place. He addressed the Goddess as "Kali" (lit. a dark-complexioned one), which she took as an insult. She at once resolved to convert herself into "Gaurī" (lit. a fair complexioned one) and vanished. In the meantime Nārada met Siva in Kalipura and Mahākālī in Uttara Meru. He told her, of course in joke, that Siva was ready to marry again, on which She assumed at once an extraordinarily beautiful form and appeared before Siva. She said, in Siva's presence, that a very fair form was reflected in His heart. Taking this form

*The story runs that Brahma, Viśnu and others being unable to confer Brahmanhood on Viśvamitri, Narada advised the latter to invoke Mahādeva. Viśvamitri acted accordingly and received the one-syllabled Mantra of Kali from Siva, but for all his hard penances he could not propitiate the Goddess. Viśvamitri felt disconcerted and cursed the Goddess to be deprived of all worship. Siva explained to the saint that his mode of worship was improper and that he should correct it in the way he suggested. This being done, the Goddess was pleased and appeared in company of Siva to Viśvamitri who asked for the boon, viz. attainment of the glory of a Brahman. Kali looked at Siva, who embraced the saint and conferred on him what he was so long striving for.

to be that of a Goddess on whom Siva's heart was set she felt the pangs of jealousy and rebuked the God for what she interpreted as his unfaithfulness Siva asked Her to restrain Herself and, with the Third Eye of Wisdom, to discover the reality of what the form represented. Kali found to Her great surprise that it was Her own shadow. Siva then called the beautiful form before Him by the names of Sundari, Sri and Pañchamī—which are the synonyms Tripurasundari or Lalitā He called Her Śoḍasti on account of Her perpetual fresh youth As he was frightened by the Shadow in His heart He gave it the name of Tripurā Bhairavi

There are several varieties of this Goddess In the Purashcharayārnava we find mention of nine types,—viz Dakṣinā, Bhadrā, Smasāna "Kāla", Guhya, Kāmakalā, Dhanū, "Siddhi" and Chandī The Jayadratha Yāmala refers to Dambara Kali, Gahanesvari, Ekatārā, Chandasābarī, Vajravati, Rakṣakālī, Indivari Kali, Dhanadā, Rāmanyā, Isānakālī and Mantramātā The Sammohana Tantra speaks of ten varieties, but actually mentions seven,—viz Sparsamani, Chintamani, Siddhakālī, Vidyārajñī, Kāmakalā, Hamsa Kālī and Guhya Kālī

Of all these varieties Dakṣinā and Bhadrā Kali belong to the Southern Āmnāya, while Guhyakālī, Kāmakalā, Mahākālī and Mahāśmasāna Kali belong to the Northern Āmnāya

Gubyakālī, generally worshipped in Nepal, is often described as the best of all the types, and it was of this Goddess that Brahmā, Vasishtha, Rāma, Kuvera, Yama, Bharata, Rāvana, Bali, Indra and others were the worshippers The number of her faces is said to vary with various Sādhakas The type which Bharata worshipped has ten faces and Her mantra consists of 16 syllables The external features of the type of which Rāmachandra was a votary are exactly the same, but Her mantra contains 17 syllables rather

than 16 Hārita and Chyavana both worshipped this 17-syllabled Vidyā, but Hānta obstructed it with a *Kila*, so that until this is removed, which is practically a very difficult matter, it can not reveal itself and become effective. The Chyavana type is still in use.

The Mahākāla Samhitā explicitly says that the ten-faced type of Guhyakali* is the fundamental type (प्रकृतिः), of which the other varieties are modifications. There are seven varieties of Guhya Kāli and five of Dakṣinā Kali.

The worshippers of Kāmakala Kāli are named in the Mahā Kala Samhitā, thus—Indra, Varuna, Kuvera, Brahmā, Maha Kāla, Rama, Ravana, Yama, Vivasvan, Chandra, Viṣṇu and the R̥sis. The 18 syllabled type of this Vidyā is supposed to be the best.

(b) Tārā

Tārā is the second Mahavidya in the list. She is variously named—as Nīla Sarasvatī,* Ugratārā, Ekajatā* Mahatārā, Vidyatājī† Vāgīśvarī, Sarasvatī§

* This is the Sakalī form of the Goddess which has three distinct aspects, viz gentle (सौम्या), rough (उग्रा) and extremely fierce (महात्रा). The Ni-kali form is unique.

† Tārā, with the initial and final syllables removed, is Nīla Sarasvatī (Mantra M., fol 28). Ekajatā also is a little different from Tārā so far as the Mantra is concerned. Its Mantra is either 5-syllabled (e.g. in the case of Narayana's Mantra) or 22 syllabled, in which case the ॥ is Pata jah. The expulsion of Divodasa from Benares is said to have been effected by the power of Tārā Mantra.

‡ Its Mantra is 32 syllabled (Mantra VI fol 39). This is generally known as Mahavidya Mantra Maha, fol 520.

§ The Mantra is 2 syllabled. The Goddess is described as white-complexioned and ten armed (Mantra Maha, fol 527).

|| Sarasvatī is not exactly identical with Vāgīśvari in form or

according to the Āmnāya to which each is affiliated. Thus Sparsatārī, Chandravarnā, Chaṇḍaghaṇṭā, Ghanṭikā and Trailokya-vijayā belong to the East. Chiotāmani, Siddhajatā, Tnjaṭā, Krūramālikā, Krūrachandā, Mahāchandā, Vajratārā, Brahmātārā, Manitāra, Nārāyāṇī, Chaturvedodari belonging to the South; Ugratārā and the 84 types of Hamsatārā to the West; Astatārā to the North, Mahogratārā, Mahāoīlā, Sāṁhhavatārā, Mahānlā Sarasvatī, Chināsuodari, Nilasondari and Mahānlā Sundari to the Upper Āmoāya.

The connection of Tārā with Buddhism is very often referred to in the Tantras. The Rudra Yāmala (Paṭṭa XVII) and the Brahma Yāmala (Paṭṭalas I and II) contain a short account of the story of Buddha and Vasiṣṭha with reference to the worship of Tārā. It is said in the former work that Vasiṣṭha practised hard penances (in the Nilachala hills,* says the Brahma Yāmala) for a long time for a vision of Tārā, but the Goddess did not appear. Feeling depressed he went to his Father, Brahmā, and told him the whole story, asking him at the same time to give him a fresh Mantra. He was even inclined to utter a curse. Brahmā dissuaded him from cursing and requested him to continue to worship the same Goddess by means of Yoga (योगमार्गेण). Thereupon Vasiṣṭha went to the shore of the Seat and practised austerities for 1000 years. But the Goddess was not propitiated. Vasiṣṭha lost all sense of restraint and pronounced a curse upon her. On this She appeared and said that his curse was unprovoked, for he was not aware of the mysteries of her worship which are known to

* i.e. in Kamakhya (in Assam)

† Or to the Kāmakhyā thulls in Assam, according to Brahma-yāmala

The Tantrachudāmaṇī and Tārānava describe it as Kuchchhukā and call it a secret Vidyā. In the Tārā-rahasyavṛtti of Śankarīchārya mention is found of several kinds of Tārā, thus - Tārā, Ugrā, Mahogrā, Vajrakālī, Sarasvatī, Kameśvarī and Bhadrakālī. In the Tarābhaktisudhārgava (11th taranga) of Nṛsiṃha Thakkura Vajrakālī and Sarasvatī are read as Vajrā and Nila Sarasvatī.

According to tradition, the different Mantras of this Goddess were worshipped by different persons for different purposes. Thus for instance the Mantras which Brahmā had resorted to while conferring boons on Tārakasura and Hiranyakasipu were 12 syllabled and 7 syllabled respectively. Rāma's Mantra was 7-syllabled. There is a 7-syllabled Mantra of the Goddess associated with the name of Brahmā, but it is somewhat different. Similar is the case with the Mantra of Balarāma Nārāyana, for subjugating the Daityas, worshipped the 5 syllabled form of the Mantra Viṣṇu, in the form of Buddha, is said to have worshipped the 12-syllabled Mantra for preaching of Buddhism. The Mantra which Mahādeo gave to Pāreśvāra for bringing to an end the Kṣattriyas in the land was the 5 syllabled Mantra of Tārā.

The different forms of Tārā, of which the exact number cannot be determined, are arranged in some Tantras

mantra. There are several Mantras of Sarasvatī—viz. (i) 10-syllabled, of which the R̄i, Chhūndas and Devītā are Kamā, Virāt and Vagīśvarī, (ii) 11-syllabled, (iii) 38-syllabled (worshipped by the Juns), (iv) 1 syllabled (Mantra Mahā, fol 531). The form of the Goddess corresponding to the Mantra (i) is white-complexioned, standing on a white lotus (Do fol 529); the Goddess of (ii) is described as white-complexioned and either riding on a swan or holding a Japamālā and a pair of lotuses in hands (Do fol. 530-531).

according to the Āmnāya to which each is affiliated. Thus Spargatārā, Chandrasmī, Chandraghantā, Ghanṭikā and Traīlokyavijayā belong to the East, Chintāmani, Siddhajatā, Trijaṭā, Krūramālikā, Krurachandā, Mahachandā, Vajratārā, Brahmatārā, Manitārā, Nāraṇimhi, Chaturvedodarī belong to the South; Ugratārā and the 84 types of Hamsatārā to the West; Astatārā to the North, Mahogratārā, Mahāoilā, Sāmbhavatārā, Mahanilā Sarasvatī, Chināsundarī, Nilasundarī and Mahāolla Sundarī to the Upper Āmnāya.

The coonection of Tārā with Buddhism is very often referred to in the Tantras. The Rudra Yamala (Pañjala XVII) and the Brahma Yamala (Pañjala I and II) contain a short account of the story of Buddha and Vasistha with reference to the worship of Tārā. It is said in the former work that Vasistha practised hard penances (in the Nilachala hills,* says the Brahma Yamala) for a long time for a vision of Tārā, but the Goddess did not appear. Feeling depressed he went to his Father, Brahmā, and told him the whole story, asking him at the same time to give him a fresh Mantra. He was even inclined to utter a curse. Brahmā dissuaded him from cursing and requested him to continue to worship the same Goddess by means of Yoga (योगमार्गेण). Thereupon Vasistha went to the shore of the Seat and practised austerities for 1000 years. But the Goddess was not propitiated. Vasistha lost all sense of restraint and pronounced a curse upon her. On this She appeared and said that his curse was unprovoked, for he was not aware of the mysteries of her worship which are known to

* I e in Kamakhya (in Assam)

† Or to the Kāmīkhya thills in Assam, according to Brahma-yamala

Buddha alone in the country of Mahāchīna. These are generally included in the so-called Chioāchāra].

Vasiṣṭha repaired to Mahāchīna and entreated Buddha to initiate him into the secrets of Tārā worship, but when he found around him the devotees of Tārā indulging in non-vedic rituals and steeped in the excesses involved in the worship by the 5 Ms—i. e. Madya, Mānsa, etc.—he felt disgusted and doubts as to the propriety and dignity of this form of worship began to trouble his mind. Buddha realised his plight and explained to him the Kulamārga, which is praised as the noblest path leading to spiritual realisation. Through his persuasion Vasiṣṭha adopted the Śākta worship (of Tārā) by means of wine and the other accessories till he became a perfect Yogi (पूर्णयोगी) and had a vision of the Goddess.

For a long time the Tārā Mantra, owing to the curse of Vasiṣṭha, remained ineffective, but its *Utkilana* was performed subsequently, so as to remove its barrenness. In some places it is noted that the effect of the curse was till the advent of the Kṛṣṇa Avatāra (cf Puraścaryārnava, p. 782).

As regards the origin of the Goddess it is related that She came forth from the upper Mouth of Śiva in the form of a bright flame and fell into the Chola (or Cholana) lake to the west of Mount Meru on the day of Kālarātri, i.e. on

; The Brahmayāmala describes the Chinschāra in the following terms.

स्नानादिमानमः शौचो मानसः प्रवरो जपः । पूजने मानसे दिव्ये मानसे
तपेणादिरूपम् ॥ स्वैरप्य शुभं कालो नाशुभो विषये क्वचित् । न विशेषो
दिवारात्रौ न मन्त्रार्था महानिति ॥ यज्ञासनस्थानगृहदेहस्पशांदिवारिणः ।
शुद्धि न चाचेरत्र निर्विकल्पे मन्त्रेष्व ॥ नाम शुद्धयात्पंक्षास्ति न चामेष्या-
दित्तपणम् । मर्द्दा पूजयेद्दर्यामस्नातः शूलभोजनः ॥ महानिश्चयशुद्धौ देवे
घलि मन्त्रेण दापयेत् । स्त्रीदेवो नैव कर्त्तव्यो विशेषात् पूजने खिपाः ॥

the Dipāvalī day (14th dark tithi combined with Amā of Kārtika) Rising out of the lake she assumed a blue hue and became known as Nīlasarasvatī The saint Akṣobhya, who is described as an Emaration from Mihādeva and was living on the north of the lake, observed the whole affair and began to worship Her (cf Prāṇatōṣṇī, pp 720 722, Tārābhaktisudhārnava, 1st Turanga)

The connection of Akṣobhya with Tāra is remarkable For it is found in the Buddhist literature as well—and modern scholars are strongly inclined to believe that the whole Tarā legend was really a graft from the Buddhistic source upon Hindu Tantra Sastra Akṣobhya is a very well known name in Mahāyāna Buddhism as that of a Dhyāni Buddha whose colour is blue and whose posture of hand (मुद्रा) is what is known as Bhūsparsa The Sakti and Bodhisattva attached to Akṣobhya are Lochana and Vajrapāni respectively The derivative meaning of the name Akṣobhya (lit 'unperturbable') is given in the Tantras Siva was called by this name because he was not agitated even after drinking the deadly poison which came out of the Churning of the Ocean (cf Prāṇatōṣṇī p 719)

(To be continued)

VIII—THE DATE OF MADHŪ-SUDANASARA-SVSATI.

BY GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ

The date of Madhusudana Sarasvati has been as much a vexed problem in the chronology of Indian Literature as that of Appayya Dikṣita. The paper on Appayya Dikṣita*, recently published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras (Vol II, pts 3 4, pp 226 237), has indeed thrown much fresh light on the date of Appayya, though certain difficulties still remain to be solved. But the date of Madhusudana seems yet to be an open question. Mr R. Krishna Swami Sastri, B A, contributed an interesting paper on the age of Madhusudana in the pages of the same Journal (Vol I, pt 2, pp 97 104), pleading in favour of the third quarter of the 17th Century as his probable date.

Assuming that the date of Appayya, as finally determined by Mr Y Mahalinga Sastri, is correct, i.e. that Appayya was born about 1520 A D and died about 1593, having lived a life of 72 years, it seems to one more than likely that Madhusudana too lived about the end of the 16th Century or a little earlier. Madhusudana's date can not be dragged down into the 17th Century for the obvious reason that a manuscript of the Siddhantahindu composed by him was transcribed in Saka 1539 (नवान्विवाषेन्दुमिते शकाब्दे) or 1617 A D. This is the most positive proof in support of the 16th Century date for Madhusudana. Besides, Narayana Bhaṭṭa is said to have defeated Madhusudana and Niśīmhaśrama in a public controversy. Narayana's commentary on the Vṛittaratnakara was written in 1545 A D.

* By Y Mahalinga Sastri, B A *B L Mylapore

which is therefore also the date of Madhusudana. This is perfectly in keeping with the date of Nṛsiṁhaśrama whose Vedāntataṭṭvaviveka was composed in 1547 A D. Madhuśudana's high praise of Appayya, whom he describes as सर्वतद्विद्यतन्त्रम् is explicable on the supposition that Madhuśudana was a junior contemporary of the latter. In the same way Appayya's alleged intellectual conversion by Nṛsiṁha and his respectful reference to the views of the latter in the Siddhīntaleśa saṅgraha are easily intelligible if Nṛsiṁha is held to have been an earlier contemporary of Appayya. Nṛsiṁha lived up to an advanced age.

That Madhusudana's Advaitaratnarakṣana was written in reply to Sankara's Bhedaratna is certain. But Sankara's date is not after 1529 A D, but long before it*. A Ms of his Bhedaratna was copied in Samvat 1519 or 1462 A D. Sankara may be assigned to the 15th Century. Madhusudana's contemporary Nṛsiṁhaśrama too had already commented upon a similar work, called Abhedaratna, written by one Mallanatadhya with the same end in view, i.e. for vindication of the cause of Advaita.

Madhusudana's posteriority to Appayya is undoubtedly, but this need not imply any long interval between the two authors. They can well be explained by the assumption that Madhusudana was a younger contemporary of Appayya. As Madhusudana's date can not be brought down beyond 1617 A D, when a Ms of his Siddhāntabindu was copied,

* The present writer pointed out long ago Dr Gaṅgānātha Jha in his Preface to the Vādavinoda pp 12 places Sankara about Samvat 1583. But in view of the positive evidence adduced above it is no longer possible to hold this date as true.

this assumption becomes inevitable And in the light of evidence adduced by Y Mahalinga Sastri it seems no longer possible to stick to the old dates for Appayya Dikṣita*.

Vyāsārāja too was probably an older contemporary of Madhusudana. The date for him given by Mr R K Sastri, i.e between 1446 and 1539 A D, may be accepted It is said that Vyāsārāja himself sent his pupil Vyāsāśrama to study Vedānta with Madhusudanat

Rāmatīrtha†, pupil of Krna Tīrtha‡, commented on

* In my paper on "Mīmānsa MSS in the Government Sanskrit Library (Benares)" I assumed (*vide p 178 of the Princess of Wales S B Studies, Vol VI*) 1587-1658 A D as the probable date of Appayya Dikṣita. But this may now be rejected in favour of the date proposed by Mr Y Mahalinga Sastri Śankara Bhatta I, the second son of Narayana Bhatta, was the author of a criticism on Appayya's *Vidhīrasayana* Śankara's time is about the end of the 16th Century, his father's Commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* having been composed in 1545 A D This too shows that Appayya lived in the 16th Century and not later This Śankara Bhatta was one of the Gurus of Bhattoji Dikṣita (Indian Antiquary, 1912, p 11) Cf also Bhatta Vamsa Kavya Kanta Bhatta Kamalakara, Śankara's stepbrother, also quoted from Appayya Dikṣita (S K De's Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I, p 266) It may be pointed out in this connection that Dr Keith too accepts the 16th Century as the probable age of Appayya Dikṣita (See "A History of Sanskrit Literature", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928, pp 396 & 481)

† See History of Vedānta Philosophy by Swami Prajñanānanda, Vol III, pp 730, 750

‡ This Rāma Tīrtha was also the author of a commentary on Śankara's *Upadeśa Śāhasrī*

¶ The Guru of Rāma Tīrtha was one Krna Tīrtha, as mentioned in Rāma's Commentaries on the *Upadeśa Śāhasrī* and Śankara's *Śūtrākara*. There is a Ms of *Tattva Chandrika* a

age is furnished, not by the date of Hari Dikṣita's Brahmasutravṛtti (completed in 1736 A D) but by that of the transcription of a Ms of Siddhāntabindu (1617 A D). There is no doubt that Nārāyana Tīrtha, the Guru of Brahmānanda, whose commentaries on some of Madhusudana's works (viz Chandrikā,-Bṛhat and Laghu—on the Advaita Siddhi and Nyāyaratnāvalī on the Siddhāntabindu) are well known, was greatly influenced by Madhusudana's teachings. His Bhaktichandrikā bears upon it traces of his close familiarity with Madhusudana's Bhaktirasāyana and he himself wrote a Commentary on the latter's Siddhāntabindu (recently published from Benares). Nārāyana lived about the end of the 18th Century. In the Sanskrit College Library Benares there is a Ms of Muktāvaliprakāśa by Dīnakara dated Sam 1758 or 1761 A D. This Ms belonged to the private library of Nārāyana Tīrtha himself.

IX—DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ON SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

BY GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

Introduction

The history of Indian Literature and Culture does not seem to have yet been taken up for study in the manner which the nature of the subject demands. The efforts of Max Müller, Weber, Macdonell, Keith, Winternitz and others have done much indeed to systematise the researches into the history of the Sanskrit Literature, especially in regard to chronology and bibliography as a whole, and a host of writers have done, and been still doing a good deal of valuable spade work in various fields connected with Sanskrit Studies. Descriptive Catalogues of MSS. hitherto published, are of great use not only for bibliographical studies but also for literary chronology, which is often a mixed subject. But with all these data—and they are by no means insignificant,—it is not possible to attempt to build up the cultural history of the country, unless and until they are reinforced by the data available on a close and systematical study of the contents of the important unpublished manuscripts lying in deposit in the various libraries of India and outside. It is indeed true that even all the published Sanskrit works have not yet been ransacked and subjected to a thoroughly critical examination so far as their contents are concerned. But such a work may be left to scholars, who will be able to accomplish it, each in his own sphere of study, sooner or later. As for the MSS. however, the need of such an examination is imminent and even imperative, for the following reasons:

(a) MSS deposited in libraries are not within easy reach of all scholars interested in the subjects concerned

(b) Some of them being fragmentary and unique may never be published at all

(c) Even those which are complete are not likely to be published in entirety and at an early date

(d) Single leaves are sometimes found to contain valuable information which, unless it is noted, is never likely to be available for study

(e) MSS, old and decaying, are in fear of being soon destroyed. It is desirable to have a record of the contents, specially on the important points dealt with, of interesting MSS which for some reason or other have a value of their own. A critical and comparative study of these notes can easily be attempted subsequently, when a large amount of such matter will have been collected.

I think a work of this nature has long been a desideratum and I believe that every Library of Sanskrit manuscripts ought to come forward ready for co-operation in this cyclopædic work and try to contribute its own quota to this end. This must be done if a systematic study of Sanskrit literature and the culture reflected therein has ever to be undertaken.

Under the name of "Descriptive Notes" I propose to bring out the results of my studies of manuscripts, with special reference to their contents. These notes keep in view the requirements of cultural and historical study. The names of the MSS from which notes have been taken have not been arranged in any order,—such arrangement is evidently impossible at the beginning. But it is proposed to append at the end of notes on a certain number of MSS a classified list of the works noticed. The MSS belong mostly

o the Government Sanskrit Library, but there are some of private owners also In every case this has been clearly indicated

— o —

No 1

श्रीकृष्णयामल भहातन्त्र

Fols 313 Script—Devanagari

Interlocution between Brabman and Brahmani A fragment only Ms old, and the script rather peculiar (Plate)

The Codex begins with an interesting tale of the various Avatars viz (a) Pr̄śnigarbha (b) R̄ṣabha (c) Pribu (d) Nara Narayana, (e) Dhanvantari (f) Hayagrīva (g) Datta son of Atri and Acasūya (h) Kapila (i) Paraśurama son of Renuka, (j) Rama and his brothers (k) Vyasa and (l) Kṛṣṇa who descends in every Manvantara in the 22nd Dvapara Yuga with His own Saktis, and Gopas &c who are the products of His own Body

Brndavana is said to be of two kinds—(i) earthly (भौम) and (ii) transcendent (द्विष्य) of which the former again is two-fold one in Mathurā and the other in Pīrusottama (Puri)

यत्र है भगवान् कृष्णस्त्रय धून्दायन घनम् ।

तत्रेय राधिका नित्या भद्रा दर्शी च तत्र है ॥

तत्र है पलरामस्तु गोपा गात्या गदा गण ॥

Names of Viṣṇu's Avatars and their various functions for redemption of the world are then stated It is here added in passing that the way of knowing is for the first time preached by the first Sanas* and the Way of Devotion by Narada

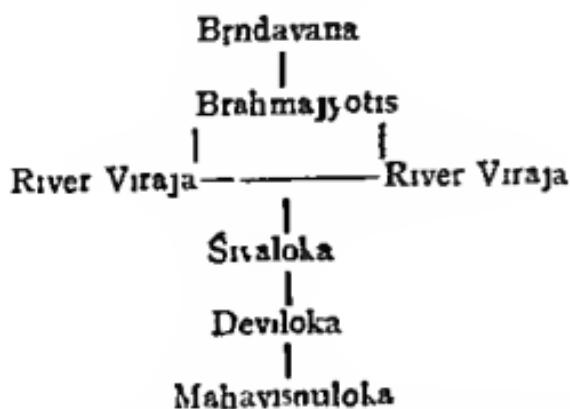
* i.e. Sanaki Śvāmī Śāntanā Śāntanā and Sa atkum ra

The Divya Brñdāvana is above Liṅga and Yoni—Puruṣa and Prakṛti, it is here that the Supreme Being abides in the undiminished splendours of His Existence, Self-awareness and Delight. He is transcendent and formless (निराकार), while at the same time invested with infinity of forms (साकार)—the Quotessence of Joy, the Lord of the Universe. His Śakti is Rādhikā, the Soul of Delight (परमानन्दरूपिणी). From Her come forth and in Her continue the Universe and the innumerable Souls (कोटि नार्यः)* inhabiting it. With them Śrīkrṣna is reported to be playing always and in myriads of ways. He is the limitless Ocean of Joy (रसामुखि) and His plays with His Śaktis, also limitless, give rise in phenomena to the varieties of what we have come to term Aesthetic Joy (रस).

* Mentioned here is naris, females once. It may be of interest to note that in the Vaiṣṇava Cult, of which Rādhikopaniṣad represents in aspect, the souls are conceived as feminine Śrīkrṣna Himself, the Supreme Self, is the Only Puruṣa in this view, and the rest are His Prakṛtis or Śaktis. Even in the Gita (VI 4 5) the Jīva is described as the Prakṛti of Iṣvara along with Nature (the Avyakta of Saṅkhyā), with this distinction, however, that it is higher (परा) and that the latter is lower (अपरा).

The passage in the Rādhikopaniṣad which refers to Rādhikā (=आनन्द or द्वादिनीतर्कि of the Deity) as the Immaculate source of Universal manifestation finds its closest parallel in the saying of the Upaniṣad आनन्दादेह खलिग्रामि भूतानि जायन्ते, &c. And it also implies that from the Emaness of Divine Joy (आनन्द), by an apparent split within Itself, by a process of negation or contraction, पित् (corresponding to मैवित्तर्कि) and सत् (corresponding to मन्त्रितर्कि), the so-called Puruṣa and Prakṛti, have finally evolved (much in the fashion indicated in Sufi philosophy).

The position of Nitya Brndavasa, according to this school, may be understood from a glance at the following rough sketch



It is related that once Brahma, with a host of other gods, conceived the idea of making a pilgrimage to this Brndavana. They took for their guide a Person, named Mahabari, an emanation from the mouth of Mahavisa and started on their journey. This Person is represented as blue, eight armed, yellow robed, lotus eyed and wearing a garland of wild flowers. They went first to the Plane of Durga or Tripura Sundari whose Form is described as that of a bright and youthful goddess, with three eyes and four arms bearing the fivefold arrow, a bow, a noose and a hook and decked with ornaments. She appears here as the Type of Supreme Beauty. She blessed them all.

Thereupon the gods proceeded up to the Plane of Siva, where they beheld a Luminous Linga in touch with the Mahayoni or Yogapitha. It pervaded the Universe and yet transcended its utmost boundaries. It was Sad-siva. The gods recognised Him and sang hymns in His praise, on which the God issued forth from the Linga in a form half male and half female called Ardhanarishvara. He described Himself to be the Tejas of Sri Krishna and Durga as Raghika Herself. It was through the effect

of Māyā alone that she was of the form of Yoni * This Plane is the utmost limit of the gunas Beyond is the Ineffable, Unsullied, the Immutable, the Silent Here Time and Space, as *limiting conditions*, are annihilated, and do not find any place

नात्र दिक्कालतियमै न चैवास्ति गमागमः ।

Siva blessed them all But the gods were disheartened and were about to retire, in view of the immensity, unmeasurability and inaccessibility of the Light Beyond Siva took pity on the depressed gods, and at that time from His five mouths issued forth the great mantra, called the Pañchapadividya, viz कूर्म शुद्धण्डय गोविन्दाय गोपीजनवस्त्रभाय स्वाहा which the gods received and the Initiation took place

The next step was the river Viraja It is described as luminous (जपेतिर्मयी), shoreless and endowed with innumerable qualities While on its bank they heard coming from Beyond a sweet strain, as of flutes (ध्वेषु), lutes (धीषा) and mrdangas and the sounds of Kṛṣṇa's names (Govinda, etc) chanted The gods were over joyed and began to meditate fervently (जप) on the great Mantra which they had received Opening their eyes they beheld lying before them a vast City of Light, bright but mellow, and brilliantly decked In the river they saw, around them, the reflection of a forest of Kadambas In this was a Kalpa Tree, with branches of jewels leaves of emerald, trunk of gold, fruits of rubies, roots studded with gems, and shadowy Under this tree they beheld to their infinite delight and

* Linga and Yoni are two pro-creative symbols and stand for the Divine Father and Mother They stand at the apex of creative flux, and above them both (also permeating and upholding them) is the Eternity

† This is important, for as लाभापरिक् they have their use even in the Eternal Realms (निर्बन्ध पास)

amazement, sitting, a Beautiful Boy, with the crown of peacock's tail on His head, wild garlands round His neck, wearing robes like lightning-flashes and various ornaments and shining with the bluish tint of a newly risen cloud on the horizon. He was playing on the flute and was of a Form whose beauty surpassed in an infinite degree the loveliness and charm of the god of Love. On His lap was a Girl, lightning-like and adorned.

The devas were so much taken with this glorious vision of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa that they at once set themselves to swim across, when Mabāhari stopped them, saying :—

अवगाहमाटु भवेदस्याः पुमान् खो मद्दिला पुमान् ।
ऊङ्गे गच्छन्ति ये चास्याः ते हैं ज्योतिर्मयाः परे ॥
निरखने निरधारे निर्मले चापुनर्भवा ।
शुद्धे सूद्धमे निमलाञ्जित छृष्णे ज्योतिर्मयेऽजरे ॥

The river was embanked. The city was decorated all round with jewelled-staffs, (रक्षाधर) and flags. The gods moved on towards it, when lo !

आत्मानमेकमभिनो नानाकारमितस्ततः ।
पश्यन्ति परमात्मयं ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ॥

The rare and marvellous vision of One Self playing in myriads of forms was vouchsafed to them.

A picturesque description of this Realm is then given. It is narrated that the gods, before actually entering into the precincts of this city, were asked by the gate keeper, who was himself in every respect of the same form as Kṛṣṇa, to state from which Brahmāṇḍa they came and for what purpose and also to establish the identity of each.*

* For the worlds being infinite, the Brahmis, Vivas etc., who are only the functionaries concerned with government of the Universe under the direction of the Supreme, must also be consistently held to be countless. It is immaterial in this context

विप्रानन्द तरङ्गिणी OR KASI NATHA

Fols 1—3 Script—Nagari

The work begins—

या विद्येत्यभिधीयते श्रुतिपद्ये शक्तिः सदाच्या परा
 सर्वज्ञा भवत्वन्धभिज्ञितिपुणा सर्वाशये संस्थिता ।
 दुर्बोल्या सुदुरात्मभिक्ष मुनिभिर्ध्यानास्पद ग्रापिता
 प्रत्यक्षा भवतीद सा भगवती वुद्धिप्रदा मेऽन्तु वै ॥ १ ॥
 नत्वा श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिचरणाम्भोद्दद्वयम् ।
 काशीनाथ, प्रतनुते विप्रानन्दतरङ्गिणीम् ॥ २ ॥

The author says that it is declared in the Kalpasutras, attributed to Bhagavata Nārāyaṇa, that the upasana of Gāyatrī alone is sufficient for the Brāhmaṇas to secure Mokṣa—
 परग्रहपरमकारणिकेन भगवता नारायणेन फलपत्रे विप्राणी
 गायत्र्युपासनामात्रेणैव मुक्तिरिति प्रतिपादितम् (fol 1 b) In support of this several quotations are given, some without reference to the source and some from the Āditya Purāṇa, Viṣṇu Yatnala, Atharva Veda Devyātharva Śiras, Gāyatrī Hṛdaya, Gāyatrīstavaraya, Gāyatrīrahasya and Vāśiṣṭha

whether we are to conceive the gods as Jīvas with extended powers and wisdom or as Iṣvara, with His infinite power and wisdom curtailed for division into multiple centres of activity. In both hypotheses the worlds and the gods would be innumerable. The Primum Materia being given as infinite, the worlds following from it must be supposed to be without an end. The plurality of worlds is a rational and legitimate hypothesis and is accepted as a matter of course in every system of Indian Thought Cf Kusumājī (II Stavikar), Sivapura, Schrader, Introduction to the Pañccharātra p 29 See also Chaitanya Chintāmrita Surkar's English Translation of the above, pp 273-275. Tattvātrava (Benares Ed), p 66

The Gāyatrīhṛdaya presents this scheme of Emanation. Pranava (the mystic syllable 'Om')—Vyāhṛti—Gāyatri—Sāvitri—Sarasvati—Vedas—Brahmā—the Lokas. It is stated that all the Vedas with their angas, all the Upaniṣads, all the Itihasas have emanated from the Gāyatri. In the Gāyatrīhṛdaya prominence is given to Śakti, as usually in the Tantrik works, and the Śakti is described as two fold, viz Saguna and Nirguna, the former worshipped by men of the world (रागिणः) and the latter by the recluse (विरागिणः).

The quotations from the "Atharva Veda" (?) consist of Anuṣṭup verses, Paurāṇic or Tantrik in character, in which the order of Emanation is given as below:

Chitśakti—Prakṛti (= the Reflected Image of Chitśakti, प्रतिविम्बस्त्रपिणी)—Mahat—Ahankāra—Ākāsa—Vāyu—Agni—Jala—Prithvi—Ośadhi—Anna—Retas. In this way the entire universe is ultimately traced to Śaktibimba or Nature.

No 3

वामाचारमतखण्डनम् OF KASINATHA

Fols 1-10. Script—Nāgari

The author calls himself Kasiṇātha Bhaṭṭa Bhāda, son of Siva Bhaṭṭa also Jayarīma Bhaṭṭa, son of Sivarīma Bhaṭṭa. His mother's name appears as Virānasi in the colophons of his works—(a) गायत्रीपुराणारण्डिका and (b) चरित्कार्चनदीपिका, of which extracts are given in Peterson's Ulwar Catalogue (pp 238, 239). In the Introductory verse (no 1) of (a) his teacher is named Ananta. His other known works are—

- (c) यन्त्रचन्द्रिका (Ibid, p 252)
- (d) शिरपूजान्तरद्विष्टि (Ibid, p 252)
- (e) विप्रानन्दतरद्विष्टि, described in No 3, *passim*, is

probably his work. In (c) the author is described as दक्षिणा-
चारमतप्रवर्तक ।

The author is very anxious to prove that the views of the Vāmāchārins are unfounded. It is said that in the 64 Tantras and 8 Yāmalas the teacher Dakṣināmārti prescribed all rites for the first three castes according to Daksīṇā mārga and for the Śūdras according to Vāma mārga. The Merutantra says plainly that Vāmāchāra is not intended for the 3 higher castes and again that of the three kinds of Upisāñā mental Pājā and Japa are Sāttvika, Dakṣīpa and Image worship are tājisika and offerings to 'Bhaga' etc. are tāmasic. The Samayachāra Tantra divides Āchāra into two classes and explains Vāmāchāra as connected with the five mudras, etc. and Dakṣināchāra as devoid of the same. In the Uttara Kaulītījava there is a description of Vāmāchāra, saying that in this form wine, meat and similar other things are its accessories and that really obscene acts have to be indulged in (प्रत्यक्षयोऽद्यात्). The triangle (त्रिकोण) is a symbol of the female organ. The Digambaras, Kṣapāyakas etc. are votaries of this form of worship, which is declared to be non-vedic. There are certain minor differences however between the methods of worship of the Kaulas and those of the Digambaras*

ब्रह्म साम नदाग्रापि उपासीष्मुष्मादिदर्शः सप्तर्षि विष्णवाच्युदा ।
प्राणाश्रितोऽपाने ग्रामपत्रै गृह्णते एते इति ॥

XI—A NOTE ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM ‘PARARDHA’

BY UNEESA MISRA

In the course of my studies I happened to come across the word ‘Parardha’ representing various stages of numeral notation. In the Śukla Yajurveda Sambita,¹ to begin with, we find that it is the thirteenth place of notation which Parardha occupies. Thus the order of numerical notations found in this Sambita is as follows —

Eka = 1

Dasa = 10

Sata = 100

Sahasra = 1000

Ayuta = 1000,0

Niyuta = 100,00

Prayuta = 1000 000

Arbuda = 1000 000 0

Nyarbuda = 100,000,00

Samudra = 1000 000 000

Madhya = 1000,000,000,0

Anta² = 1000,000 000,00

Parirddha = 1000,000,000,000

Here both Uvata and Mahidhara in their Bhāṣyas on the above say that we get the subsequent number when the preceding one is multiplied by ten³.

¹ Adhyay 17 Rcs 2 PP 311, Nirnaya Sagar, Bombay

Ed 1912

² It is also called Antarikṣa

³ Śukla Yajurveda Sambita PP 311

But in the explanation of these terms Mahidhara differs and holds that, truly speaking, it is the eighteenth place of notation which is occupied by Parārdha. Thus the differences, according to him, begin from Prayuta, which is equal to ten lacs, as Niyuta represents a lac. After Prayuta comes Koṭi and then Arbuda and Nyarbuda. The latter, he says, is a synonym of Abja. Further, he says that as Abja literally means that which is produced out of water, it impinges that the numerals coming between Abja and Samudra, namely, Kharva, Nikharva, Mahipadma, and Saḍku are indicated by Abja only. Thus according to him the following is the order —

that the numbers one to Parardha (as given in the text) are to be had when each preceding one is multiplied by ten * According to the text as explained by Uvāča, Mahidhara and later Smṛti writers, *Samudra* is equal to 1000 000 000 which now will become 1000,000,000 000 00 Both these explanations cannot be true in any way

Coming to Jyotiḥśastra we find that it is the eighteenth place which is occupied by Parardha and the order is almost the same as given by Mahidhara. The only difference is that Mahidhara holds that Samudra multiplied by ten becomes one Madhva which, when multiplied by ten, becomes one' Anta or Antya. In the Jyotiḥśastra here the order is reverse. It holds that Samudra multiplied by ten becomes Anta or Antya, which when multiplied by ten becomes Madhya † This seems to be the view of Viṣṇupurana also ‡

But Dhananjaya Bhāṭṭa, a commentator on Jyotiḥśastra, holds a different view. According to him it is the thirty second place which Parardha occupies in the order of numeral notations § Thus the order is as follows —

* अत्रेकादिपरार्धपर्यन्ते शङ्खदृशतोत्तर ददाणुगिता सख्याच्यते—

Mahidhara Bhāṭṭa on Ibid

एवमसाप्रसृति ददासेष्यागुणिते परार्धपर्यन्ते पूर्वोन्मेत्याविशेषमसुचित वर्धमानमस्येयनिई सर्वाजातमित्यादि—Ubata Bhāṣya

† Vide Līlāvatī of Bhāskarācarya Sankhyāparimānam of Keshava Miśra the great Smṛtikara pp 1 2 Darbhanga Ed Kaka 1825

+ Quoted by Keshava Miśra

§ Ibid

Eka = 1
 Daśa = 10
 Śata = 100
 Sahasra = 1000
 Ayuta = 1000,0
 Lakṣa = 1000,00
 Daśalakṣa = 1000,000
 Koṭi = 1000,000,0
 Daca Koṭi = 1000,000,00
 Cata Koṭi = 1000,000,000
 Arbuda = 1000,000,000 0
 Abja = 1000,000,000,00
 Kkarva = 1000,000,000,000
 Mahākharva = 1000,000,000,000,0
 Padma = 1000,000,000,000,00
 Antya = 1000,000,000,000 000
 Mahāpadma = 1000,000,000,000,000,0
 Mahācā = 1000,000,000,000,000,00
 Śaṅkha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000
 Mahāśankha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,0
 Kṣiti = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,00
 Mahakṣiti = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
 Kṣobha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000 0
 Mahākṣobha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
 Niḍhi = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000
 Mahāniḍhi = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
 Samudra = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
 Puṣkara = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,00
 Aṇḍava = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
 Amita = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
 Anauta = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0
 Parādha = 1000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,0

a work or Jyotiḥ sāstra in place of Antya, the sixteenth place, we have Sanku * This Bālahusana is attributed to one Chandesvara †

Lastly, we find that Agniparana differs from all the above and holds that it is the sixteenth place which is occupied by Parārdha. Thus it enumerates the notations in the following order —‡

Eka = 1

Dasa = 10

Sata = 100

Sahasra = 1000

Ayuta = 1000,0

Niyuta = 1000,00

Prayuta = 1000,000

Koti = 1000,000,0

Arbuda = 1000 000,00

Vṛnda = 1000,000,000

Kharva = 1000,000,000 0

Nikhara = 1000,000 000,00

Sankha = 1000,000,000,600

Padma = 1000,000 000,000,0

Samudra = 1000,000,000,000,00

Parārdha = 1000,000 000,000,000

This entire treatment leaves us in dark as to the exact value of Parārdha. There seems to be altogether independent interpretations of it. Not only are we unable to fix the place of Parārdha but we find it is equally difficult to

* Sankhyaparinama p. 2

¹ Ibid p. 7, where it is said "यात्मूपणे चरदेशा Is this the same Chari, ie चरि as the writer of the Ratnshakras?"

² Ibid pp. 2

know exactly what the terms denote after Prayuta upto which they all agree

Not finding myself any reasonable solution of the figure I have put it here as I found it in the various places, so that the attention of the scholars may be drawn towards this problem and a good solution arrived at